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## Who Composed the Mahāyāna Scriptures? — The Mahāsāṃghikas and *Vaitulya* Scriptures\*

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### Prologue

Relying on the recent research of others and my own, I now assume that the shift of languages and ways of transmission of the so-called Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures took place as follows:

- (1) Oral transmission in Prakrit (i.e. colloquial languages, including Gāndhārī): 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E.
- (2) Oral transmission in Prakrit / writing of Prakrit texts in Kharoṣṭhī: 1<sup>st</sup>~3<sup>rd</sup> centuries C.E.
- (3) Broken Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit (2<sup>nd</sup>~3<sup>rd</sup> centuries C.E.)
- (4) (Buddhist) Sanskrit; writing in Brāhmī (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century C.E. onwards)

It should be noted that it was as late as the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century that the so-called Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures came to be translated or composed in Sanskrit and written in Brāhmī.

If we take these stages into account, studies on the origin and transformation (not development) of early Mahāyāna scriptures need the following three perspectives:

- (1) Early Mahāyāna scriptures were originally in Prakrit not in Sanskrit
- (2) In the beginning, these scriptures were transmitted orally
- (3) Mahāyāna scriptures changed / transformed (not developed) from time to time

If one does not accept this point of view, one may think that the complete extant Sanskrit manuscripts, most of which date from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards and the modern editions of Sanskrit texts, made on the basis of such later Sanskrit manuscripts, are the “original texts” and regard readings in much earlier Chinese translations or Sanskrit (or Sanskrit-cum-Prakrit) fragments from Central Asia as “corrupted”. An illustrative example of this sort of misunderstanding is *Avalokitasvara* and *Avalokiteśvara*. There are at least eight old Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia which bear the name *Avalokitasvara*, as well as one fragment from Kizil, which has *(Apa)lokidasvara*. These older forms agree with the early Chinese renderings “One, who observes sounds” and “One, who observes sounds of the world” (闍音, 現音聲, 光世音, 觀世音), which were made between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries,

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while the newer form *Avalokiteśvara*, which first appears in a Mathurā inscription of the Gupta year 148 (467/468 C.E.)<sup>1</sup> and later in the Gilgit manuscript of the Lotus Sutra, dating back to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, agrees with the newer Chinese renderings “One who observes the sovereignty of the world” and “One who observes sovereignty” (觀世自在, 觀自在) from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards. We cannot say for certain that the older forms are “corruptions” of the newer ones.<sup>2</sup>

More than 20 years ago, I demonstrated that the underlying text of Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the Lotus Sutra (286 C.E.) had been transmitted in Prakrit-cum-Sanskrit, by comparing the Chinese translation with other versions, including all the available Sanskrit manuscripts (Karashima 1992). I assumed further that many of the early Mahāyāna scriptures had been transmitted originally in Prakrit (Middle Indic) or in a mixed language of Prakrit with Sanskrit elements and later, “translated” gradually into (Buddhist) Sanskrit. This long cherished hypothesis has been proven by newly-discovered fragments of a Gāndhārī version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Falk/Karashima 2012, 2013), dating back with an 81.1% probability, based on the C14 test, to between 47~147 C.E. Even the oldest Sanskrit Buddhist texts, representing the form in which we usually have access to them, are, in other words, the result of constant Sanskritisation, wrong back-formations, reductions, additions and interpolations over the centuries. This means that when we attempt to understand the early Mahāyāna scriptures properly so as to draw nearer to their original features or trace their transmission, if we restrict ourselves only to extant Sanskrit manuscripts, most of which date from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards (as mentioned above), the explanatory value of such studies is rather limited. Therefore, in addition to Sanskrit texts, we should investigate all other available materials in order to flesh out this history. The Chinese translations, particularly those, which were made between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, which thus antedate most of the extant Sanskrit manuscripts, are indispensable sources, as in most cases, the exact periods of their translations are known. By undertaking all this, we might be able to attain new perspectives on early Mahāyāna scriptures and hence, reconsider what we have understood through the “eyeglasses” of common sense, by removing them and looking afresh at primary materials. In this way, we may be able to draw nearer to the original features of early Mahāyāna scriptures.

One example of such “common sense” is the word “*mahāyāna*”.

The belief that “Everybody can obtain Buddha-wisdom (*buddha-jñāna*) equally and should aim at obtaining it” is what all so-called Mahāyāna scriptures proclaim. It is so to speak the common-sense approach of Mahāyāna Buddhism. However, in the second stratum

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IBInsc I 686~687.

<sup>2</sup> The most recent example of this misunderstanding is found in Saitō 2015. I assume that, in the language (probably Gāndhārī), in which the verses of the *Samantamukha* Chapter of the Lotus Sutra had been composed originally, *svāra* (or *śpara*) might have meant both “sound” and “thinking” (= Skt. *smara*), and the composer of the verses himself may have understood *\*Avalokitasvāra* (or *Avalokitaśpara*, *\*Olokitaśpara* or the like) as “One, who Observes Thinking”. Much later, when this *-svāra* (or *-śpara*) was no longer understood as meaning “thinking; memory”, people probably began to regard it literally as “sound”. Thus, the composer of the prose portion of the same chapter understood the Bodhisattva’s name in this way, which was shared also by the early Chinese translators. I assume, also, that the Gāndhārī form *\*Avalokitaśpara* could have been incorrectly Sanskritised later to *Avalokiteśvara* by somebody who knew the development Skt. *īśvara* > Gā *īśpara*. Cf. Karashima 1999 and 2014a.

of the Lotus Sutra, it describes how the “preachers of the Dharma” (*dharmabhāṇaka*), because of their proclaiming the Lotus Sutra, were harshly criticised, slandered for having composed the *kāvyas* (i.e. the Lotus Sutra itself) and for propagating a heresy. They, nonetheless, endured all such insults, persecution, expulsion from monasteries, and undauntedly proclaimed the Lotus Sutra, which had been entrusted to them by the Buddha, at the expense of their own lives. Thus, it is evident that their belief was a very dangerous heresy in the eyes of the Buddhist authorities of that time, which clearly indicates that the Lotus Sutra is one of the oldest texts among the so-called Mahāyāna scriptures, which proclaim everybody’s possibility of becoming a *buddha*. If such a Mahāyāna doctrine had already spread extensively, the *dharmabhāṇakas* of the Lotus Sutra would not have suffered such persecution or needed such strong endurance as repeatedly described in the second stratum of the text.

I assume as follows: “Buddha-wisdom” had been designated also as “great wisdom” (*mahājñāna*), which was pronounced colloquially as *mahājāna* at an earlier stage of the development of the Lotus Sutra. *Mahājāna* could have been understood as “great vehicle” as well, but later it was interpreted incorrectly as *mahāyāna* (“great vehicle”), which was then adopted also by the composers of other scriptures so as to define a new concept of “Mahāyāna Buddhism”. Presumably, the wordplay on *yāna* / *jñāna*, through the use of the double-entendre word *\*jāna*, found in “The Parable of the Burning House” of the Lotus Sutra, may have given rise to this misinterpretation.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (hereafter AsP), the word *mahāyāna* occurs 39 times, of which 36 appear in the first chapter. In the Sanskrit version, *mahāyāna* is found also once in Chapter VIII (AsP 95.13) and twice in Chapter XI (AsP 116.32, 118.5), but these three instances have no parallels in the Chinese translations between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, which tells us that they were interpolated much later. The expression *mahāyānika* (“belonging to the great vehicle”) occurs four times successively in Chapter XVI (AsP 159.7, 9, 11, 17). If the notion of *mahāyāna* were essential to AsP, the word would not have occurred in such an irregular way. Chapter I shows apparently a more developed philosophical phase than in other parts. As an introduction is usually written after the completion of an entire book, Chapter I of AsP is thought to have been composed at the very last stage of its compilation.

The following episode in this chapter indicates that the notion of *mahāyāna* had been originally heterogeneous to the main theme of this scripture (AsP[V] 12.25ff. = AsP[R] 24.18ff. = AsP[W] 108.209ff.).

Having heard the dialogue between the Buddha and Subhūti on the definition of *mahāyāna*, the venerable Pūrṇa said to the Buddha: “Being asked about *prajñāpāramitā*, O Lord, this venerable Subhūti thinks that *mahāyāna* should be explained.”

Then, the venerable Subhūti said to the Buddha: “I, O Lord, did not speak of *mahāyāna* without regard for *prajñāpāramitā*.”

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Karashima 2001b: 215~217 and Karashima “Vehicle (*yāna*) and Wisdom (*jñāna*) in the Lotus Sutra — the Origin of the Notion of *yāna* in Mahāyāna Buddhism” in this volume.

The Buddha said: “Yes, O Subhūti! You explained *mahāyāna* in line with *prajñāpāramitā*.”

Pūrṇa’s criticism that to relate *mahāyāna* with *prajñāpāramitā* was unreasonable, indicates that *mahāyāna* had been originally heterogeneous to *prajñāpāramitā* thought.

Another example of such “common sense” is the term “*mahāyāna-sūtra*”. The *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures are usually quoted in modern works as “*Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*”, but as far as I know, they are entitled “ — *Prajñāpāramitā*” without the word *sūtra* in all the Sanskrit manuscripts and Tibetan translations. One might say that, in the Chinese translations, they are entitled *jīng* 經, which is another trap of “common sense” in which even the late Prof. Akira Hirakawa was caught, when he considered *liu boluomi jīng* 六波羅蜜經 and *daozi da jīng* 道智大經, found in the earliest Chinese translation of the Lager *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*, as the “Six *Pāramitā sūtra*” and the “Mahāsūtra of the Path and Wisdom”. He considered these two “*sūtras*” to be the oldest “*mahāyāna-sūtra*” because they are referred to in one of the oldest Chinese translations made in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. However, *jīng* 經 is used predominantly to render *dharma* and sometimes also *dharmaparyāya* in the earliest Chinese translations. Thus, *jīng* 經 of the *Baṇre jīng* 般若經, *liu boluomi jīng* 六波羅蜜經, *daozi da jīng* 道智大經 means not “*sūtra*” but “teaching”.

As Fronsdaal (1998: 126) points out, Mahāyāna scriptures were entitled *pariprcchā*, *nirdeśa*, *samādhi*, *vyākaraṇa*, *vyūha* as well as *sūtra*. According to Yonezawa (2012), who doubted the authenticity of the commonly used titles in compounds with *sūtra*, such as *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, and investigated titles found in extant Sanskrit manuscripts of the Mahāyāna scriptures from Nepal and Tibet, written from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, there are the following four types of titles:

- (1) *dharmaparyāya* : *Arthaviniścaya-dharmaparyāya*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka~dharmaparyāya~*, *āryaSaṃghāta~dharmaparyāya~*

As Yonezawa (2012) points out, titles with *-dharmaparyāya* in them, occur more often also within a scripture itself in a phrase of the encouragement of copying, holding, reading and reciting the text. As the term *dharmapariyāya* occurs also in the Ashokan inscriptions, the usage of this term for a scripture is very old.

- (2) *-sūtra* in compounds: *Daśabalasūtra*, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, *Ratnaketusūtra* etc.
- (3) *-sūtrarāja*: *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtrendrarājāḥ* etc.
- (4) However, far the most common is *~ nāma mahāyānasūtra*:

*Ajitasenavyākaraṇanirdeśa nāma mahāyānasūtra*

*Amoghapāśahṛdaya nāma mahāyānasūtra*

*Maitreyavyākaraṇa nāma mahāyānasūtra*

*Samādhirāja nāma mahāyānasūtra*

*Sukhāvāṭīvyūha nāma mahāyānasūtra*

*Lalitavistaro nāma mahāyānasūtra ratnarājāḥ* etc.

The title *nāma mahāyānasūtra* is also common wording in the Tibetan Kanjur. Those, who study the Mahāyāna scriptures on the basis of the “newer” Sanskrit manuscripts or the authorised Tibetan translations, which were made from ca. 800 C.E. onwards, may think that

these scriptures had been entitled *mahāyānasūtra* from the outset without raising any doubt. However, if we once pay attention to Chinese translations and the Chinese Buddhist catalogues, the aspect changes completely. By investigating them, we may be able to trace the transition from \**vevulla* to *vaitulya*, and then to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahāyānasūtra*.

For more than twenty years, I have been investigating the relationship among *vaitulya*, *vaipulya* and *mahāyāna*, on which Peter Skilling has published an excellent, very detailed and stimulating article recently. I share many points with him (Skilling 2013).

### (1) *Ratnakūṭasūtra* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*)

There is an old so-called Mahāyāna scripture, called the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, which was retitled later as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, when it was regarded as part of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection. In the text itself, it is referred to as the *Ratnakūṭa(-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtrānta*)<sup>4</sup> and quoted as the *Ratnakūṭa* in Indian, Tibetan and Chinese commentaries until much later as well. Except for the Sanskrit manuscript and several fragments all from Central Asia, dating probably back to the 6<sup>th</sup>~8<sup>th</sup> centuries, there are four Chinese translations and a Tibetan one. The four Chinese ones, i.e. by Lokakṣema (abbr. Lk) made in 179 C.E., one in the Jin Dynasty (265~420 C.E.; probably at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century; abbr. Jin), another in the Qin Dynasty (351~431 C.E.; abbr. Qin), both by anonymous translators and lastly, by Dānapāla (abbr. Dp) at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, are all very important, because through comparing them, word by word, we can see the gradual change (I do not want to use the word “development”) of this text.

First, we shall consider the various titles. Unfortunately, the part at the end of the Sanskrit manuscript or fragments, which must have contained the scripture’s title, has not been discovered yet.

Lk(179 C.E.). 遺曰(←日)摩尼寶經<sup>5</sup> (\**vevulla-Maniratna-dharmaparyāya*)

Jin(265~420 C.E.). 摩訶衍寶嚴經<sup>6</sup> (\**mahāyāna-Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya*)

Qin (351~431 C.E.) 《大寶積經・普明菩薩會》(\**Samantāloka<sup>7</sup>-bodhisatva-parivarta* in the \**Mahāratnakūṭasūtra*)<sup>8</sup>

Dānapāla (施護 ?~1017 C.E.). 大迦葉問大寶積正法經<sup>9</sup> (\**Mahākāśyapaparipṛcchā-Mahāratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya*)

<sup>4</sup> KP § 157 = KP(V-D), pp. 55~56: *Mahāratnakūṭo sūtrāntarā(ji)[ñ]. ... ito Ratnakūṭam sūtrāntarājñā-d-ekagāthām*. Also, passages from this text are quoted in various other texts, such as the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Prasannapadā*, *Bhāvanākrama* and so on: Śikṣ 52.12. *Ratnakūṭe*; Prasp. 45.1, 47.1, 156.1, 248.4, 336.3, 358.10. *ārya-Ratnakūṭasūtra*; Bhk(III) 20.11, 21.13, 27.13. *āryaRatnakūṭe*. When several Mahāyāna scriptures, including the text in question, were gathered together and the name *Ratnakūṭa* began to be used as the title of this collection, the name of this particular scripture came to be referred to as the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* “The Chapter of *Kāśyapa*”. However, as this scripture continued to be called the *Ratnakūṭa* as an independent scripture, it was quoted as such in later texts.

<sup>5</sup> 194a19. Cf. KP § 166. In Sengyou 僧祐 (445~518)’s *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 (T. 55, no. 2145, 6b17; 510~518 C.E.), Lokakṣema’s translation is quoted as 寶積經 as well as 摩尼寶經, referring to Dao’an (道安)’s catalogue. The title 佛<說>遺曰(←日)摩尼寶經 appears in the *Chusanjangji ji* (29c17) as one of 460 scriptures which could not be found by Sengyou.

<sup>6</sup> T. 12, no. 351, 200c9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. KP, p. xxiii, n. 27.

<sup>8</sup> T. 11.631c~15f.

<sup>9</sup> T. 12, no. 352, 216c29

Tib. (9<sup>th</sup> c.) *'phags pa dKon mchog brtsegs pa chen po'i chos kyi rnam grangs le'u stong phrag brgya pa las 'phags pa 'Od srung gi le'u zhes bya ste* (\**āryaMahāratna-kūṭadharmaparyāyaśatasāhasrikagranthe āryaKāśyapaparivarta nāma*)<sup>10</sup>

As is mentioned above, the name of the text is referred to several times within it:

KP § 52 = KP(V-D), p. 23. (*iha*) *Mahāratnakūṭe dharmaparyāye*; Lk. 極大珍寶之積遺 曰(←日)羅經<sup>11</sup> (\**Mahāratnakūṭa vevulla-dharmaparyāya*); Jin. 寶嚴經; Qin. 寶積經; Dp. 大寶積正法

KP § 150 = KP(V-D) 53. (*iha*) *Mahāratnakūṭe dharmaparyāye*; Lk. -; Jin. -; Qin. 寶積經; Dp. 大寶積正法

KP § 160 = KP(V-D) 57. (*ayaṃ*) *Ratnakūṭo dharmaparyāyo*; Lk. -; Jin. 寶嚴經; Qin. -; Dp. 大寶積經典

KP § 157 = KP(V-D) 55~56: *Mahāratnakūṭo sūtrāntarā(j)[ñ]*. ... (*ito*) *Ratnakūṭaṃ sūtrāntarājñā-d-ekagāthāṃ*; Lk. -; Jin. 寶嚴經 ... 寶嚴經; Qin. -; Dp. 大寶積經典 ... 大寶積經典

The title of this scripture is quoted in the *Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokā-lamkāra* as follows:

大方廣寶積法門 (\**mahāvaipulya-Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya*) in a Chinese translation by Dharmaruci in 501 C.E.; T. 12, no. 357, 239a23

無比寶頂修多羅 (\**vaitulya-Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) in a Chinese translation by 僧伽婆羅 (Saṅghapāla or Saṅghavarman, fl. 506~520 CE.); T. 12, no. 358, 250a29f.

*shin tu rgyas pa'i sde dKon mchog brtsegs pa'i mdo* (\**vaipulya-Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) in the Tibetan translation by Surendrabodhi and Ye shes sde in ca. 800: Tib(Pk), no. 768, mDo sna tshogs, *khu* 302a6; Tib(D), no. 100, mDo sde, *ga* 276a6

寶積方廣正法 (*Ratnakūṭa-vaipulya-dharmaparyāya*) in a Chinese translation by 法護 (Dharmarakṣa or Dharmapāla; fl. 1004~1058 C.E.); T. 12, no. 359, 254a8f.

*Ratnakūṭavaipulyasūtra* in a Sanskrit manuscript, written in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century: JĀA 4.4<sup>12</sup>

In Lokakṣema's translation, both the transliteration 遺曰(←日)羅<sup>13</sup> (EH. *zjwəi [wi]*<sup>14</sup> *ɣjwat la* > MC. *jiwi jwɔt lâ*) and its shorter form 遺曰(←日) appear, which are most probably those of \**vevulla* / \**vevull(a)*<sup>15</sup>, a vernacular corresponding to the sanskritised forms *vaitulya* and *vaipulya*. Thus, his original text might have been entitled \**vevulla-Manīratna-*

<sup>10</sup> Tib(Pk), no. 760 (No. 43).

<sup>11</sup> T. 12, no. 350, 190c14f.

<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately the corresponding part in the old Sanskrit fragmentary manuscript from Central Asia is broken off. Cf. BLSF I 196.

<sup>13</sup> Unrai Wogihara had suggested this emendation to von Staël-Holstein, the editor of the critical edition of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, about 90 years ago (see KP, ix), but this idea has been widely neglected or was unknown until nowadays. Wogihara considered 遺曰羅 to be an imperfect transliteration of *vaipulya* (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>14</sup> Schuessler 2009: 312.

<sup>15</sup> Lokakṣema used 摩訶惟曰羅 (T. 8, no. 224, 468c12; EH. *ma ha zjwəi ɣjwat la*; Gā. \**Maha-vevulla* < \**Mahā-vevulla* < BHS. *Mahā-vaipulya*) in his translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*; cf. Krsh 2010: 324, Krsh 2011: 441; Karashima 2013: 176. 遺 and 惟 were used in the earliest Chinese translations to render the Indian *vi* (e.g. 遺摩羅涅 *Vimalanetra*, T. 15, no. 624, 363c1f. Cf. Coblin 1993: 907; 阿惟潘 [BHS. *Avrha*, *Abrha*, Pā. *Aviha*], 阿惟三佛 [Gā. *avisa(m)bosi* < *abhisambodhi*], 阿惟越致 [BHS. *avivarti(ka)*; cf. Krsh 2010: 750], while 日 was used to render *vu* + stop, such as *vut*, *vud*, *vul*, e.g. 泥日 (EH. *ni ɣjwat*; Gā. *ṇivudi* < *nirvṛti*, Gā. *ṇivuda* < *nirvṛta*), 鬱單曰 (Gā. \**Utarayuru* < *Uttarakuru*).

*dharmaparyāya* or \**Mahāratnakūṭa vevulla-dharmaparyāya*. In the second Chinese translation of the same text from the Jin Dynasty, it is entitled \**mahāyāna-Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya* (or -*sūtra*). Thus the attributes changed from \**vevulla* to *mahāyāna*. On the other hand, in various versions of the *Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokālaṃkāra*, this text in question is referred to as a *vaitulya*-, *mahāvaipulya*- or *vaipulya*-scripture. Here, we can see the shift from \**vevulla* (i.e. *vaitulya* and *vaipulya*) to *mahāyāna*.<sup>16</sup>

## (2) *Ratnakoṭi-sūtra*

There is another Chinese translation of a Buddhist scripture which has \**vevulla* (遺曰) in its title. T. 12, no. 356 寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經 (\**Ratnakoṭisamādhi-Mañjuśrī-bodhisatva-paripṛcchā-dharmadhātu-dharmaparyāya* or -*sūtra*) was also named as 遺曰(←日)寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經 (\**Vevulla-Ratnakoṭisamādhi-Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā-dharmadhātu-dharmaparyāya* or -*sūtra*), according to Sengyou (僧祐)'s *Chusanjangji* 出三藏記集.<sup>17</sup> This Chinese translation was ascribed to An Shigao 安世高 ever since the catalogue, named *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.), but apparently it is not An Shigao's work<sup>18</sup>. Though further investigation is needed to determine its attribution, I assume that this translation was made by Lokakṣema or his group, because the vocabulary and style in this translation agree very well with his translations, especially the usage of 謂 ("says to [somebody]") and 用~故 ("because").

Thus, the oldest Chinese translation "had" the following title:

遺曰(←日)寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經 (\**Vevulla-Ratnakoṭisamādhi-Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā-dharmadhātu-dharmaparyāya* or -*sūtra*)

There are another Chinese translation and a Tibetan translation:

入法界體性經 (\**Dharmadhātusvabhāvāvatārasūtra*?; T. 12, no. 355), translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多(523~c. 600 C.E.); in the text itself, it names itself "文殊師利童子所問 (\**Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta-paripṛcchā*)"

'*phags pa Rin po che 'i mtha' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo* (\**ārya-Ratnakoṭir nāma mahāyānasūtra*) Pk. no. 786; D. no. 118

Thus, this might have been named a \**vevulla* scripture, but later this word was deleted and much later it was changed to a *mahāyānasūtra*. In this scripture, the Buddha came out of a *samādhi*, *Ratnakoṭi* by name, then Mañjuśrī raised a series of questions to the Buddha, who answered him, and then Mañjuśrī asked Śāriputra another series of questions

<sup>16</sup> The *Nikāyaśaṅgrahawa*, a medieval Theravāda text written in Sinhala by Mahāthera Jayabāhu Devarakṣita in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, states that three classes of unorthodox literature, which were doctrinally close to the Vaitulya and Vāḍḍiya schools, were brought to Sri Lanka, amongst which the *Ratnakūṭaśāstras* were included. It also states that the *Ratnakūṭaśāstras* were composed in the Āndhra school. In fact, 15 copper plaques, dating to the first half of the 9th century, on which brief extracts of the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* are engraved, have been discovered in Sri Lanka. Cf. Pagel 1995: 73f. with further references.

<sup>17</sup> This title appears in the *Chusanjangji* (T. 55, no. 2145, 30b20f. 寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經一卷。或云遺曰[←日]寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經) as one of 460 scriptures which Sengyou could not find. Fei Changfang 費長房, while copying the description in the *Chusanjangji*, ascribed this translation wrongly to An Shigao in his *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.): T. 49, no. 2034, 52b10f. Since then, this credit has been inherited by later catalogues and the Canons: This description was copied by later cataloguers: e.g. T. 55, no. 2153, 373b18f., T. 55, no. 2154, 479b12f., 684c4f., no. 2157, 776b19.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Fang/Gao 2012: 87~100, in which the authors demonstrated that its vocabulary differs from that of the corpus of An Shigao's translations.



concerning *dharmadhātu* etc. and the latter answered. Therefore, this is entitled as quoted above. Please remember that this scripture consists of many series of questions and answers, whose meaning we shall see later.

### (3) *Sarvavaitulyasamgraha-dharmaparyāya, -sūtra*

As we have noted already, *\*vevulla* has variant forms, Pāli *vedalla*, *vetulla*, *vetulya*, Buddhist Sanskrit *vaidalya*, *vaitulya*, *vaipulya*. The etymology is still not clear (cf. Norman CP II 44).

As we have seen above, this term was transliterated in the earliest Chinese translations as 遺曰羅 / 遺曰, whose original form must have been *\*vevulla* / *\*vevull(a)*. In later Chinese translations, this term was translated as *fangdeng* 方等, a compound, consisting of two Chinese characters, both of which are synonymous<sup>19</sup>, meaning “equal to; well-balanced”<sup>20</sup>, based apparently on the association of *vaitulya* with Skt. *tulya* (“equal to”). Thus, the underlying Indian form of *fangdeng* 方等 must have been *vaitulya*, *vetulla* or the like. There is a similar expression, namely *fangguang* 方廣, which began to appear later than *fangdeng* 方等, as we shall see later. While *fangdeng* 方等, meaning “equal to”, is natural as a Chinese compound, *fangguang* 方廣 (literally “square and broad” or less plausibly “equal and broad”) is very awkward. I assume that *fangguang* 方廣 was coined unskilfully by replacing *deng* 等 (“equal to”) with *guang* 廣 (“broad”), in accordance with the shift from *vaitulya* / *vetulla* to *vaipulya* (“greatness, great extent”).

There is a scripture, demonstrating this shift from *vaitulya* / *vetulla* to *vaipulya*-cum-*mahāyāna*,<sup>21</sup> namely the *Sarvavaitulyasamgraha-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra* (“Scripture which is a Compendium of all the *Vaitulya*”). There are two Chinese translations, two Sanskrit fragments probably both from Khādalik, now preserved in the British Library and one Tibetan translation, the titles of which are as follows:

濟諸方等學經 (*\*Sarvavaitulyasamgraha-dharmaparyāya*?) by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (ca. 233~311 C.E.), T. 9, no. 274

*Sarvvavaitulyasamgrah. ... + + +* : Or.15010/43 verso3 (BLSF II.1. 401; 5<sup>th</sup>~6<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E.)

*Sarvvavaitulyasamgrahadharmaparyāyaṃ ... Sarvvavaitulyasamgrahe sūtre*: IOL San 1457 recto 2f.<sup>22</sup>; 5<sup>th</sup>~6<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E.

大乘方廣總持經 (*\*Sarvavaipulyasamgraha-mahāyānasūtra*) by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 (582 C.E.), T. 9, no. 275

*'phags pa rNam par 'thag pa thams cad bsdus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (*āryaSarvavaidalyasamgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*): Tib(Pk), no. 893, Tib(D), no. 227

This scripture is quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (abbr. Śikṣ) by Śāntideva (ca. 650~750), in the *Bhāvanākrama* (abbr. Bhk) by Kamalaśīla (ca. 740~795) and in Prajñākaramati (fl. 10<sup>th</sup> century)'s Commentary to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva (abbr.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. GH 986c, (20) 方, 齊也; (21) 方, 齊等也; (22) 方, 猶等也.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Karashima 1992: 278, note on 63b-5; Krsh 1998: 133~134.

<sup>21</sup> Skilling has already dealt with this scripture concerning the topic in question; see Skilling 2013: 90f.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Matsuda 1988: 69.

Bca-P), where it is referred to as:

*Sarvadharmavaipulyasamgrahasūtra*~: Śikṣ 95.11

*Sarvadharmasamgrahavaipulya*~: Bhk(I) 195.18

*Sarvadharmavaipulya*~: Bhk(III) 26.9f.

*Chos thams cad shin tu rgyas pa bsdus pa* (\**Sarvadharmavaipulyasamgraha*): Bhk(II) 61.1.

*Sarvadharmavaipulyasamgraha*~: Bca-P 147.8

We can see that, in the earliest Chinese translation and the old Sanskrit fragments from Khādalik, this text is entitled *vaitulya*, while in the second Chinese translation made in 582 C.E. and in the quotations in Indian works from the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it is *vaipulya*. From the title of the second Chinese translation, we may assume its original text was entitled *mahāyāna-sūtra* as well.

As a whole, the Tibetan translation agrees quite well with the first Chinese one, while the second one expounds the contents in more detail. The archaism of the Tibetan translation is ascertained also by the Sanskrit title *Sarvavaidalyasamgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* found within it<sup>23</sup>.

In this text, there is an interesting story about two Dharma-preachers: According to Dharmarakṣa's oldest Chinese translation, it goes as follows: A monk, Dharma by name, held thousands of *fangdeng* scriptures, while another monk, "Pure-Life", held a hundred and forty millions of *fangdeng* scriptures and six million scriptures of other genres<sup>24</sup>. However, in the Tibetan version, it reads as follows: A monk, Dharma by name, held a thousand *vaidalya*-scriptures, while another monk, "Pure-Life", held a hundred million (other) scriptures and sixty thousand *vaidalya*-scriptures<sup>25</sup>. The second Chinese has: A monk, "Pure-Life", held a hundred and forty million scriptures and six million *mahāyāna* scriptures, while another monk, Dharma by name, received and held thousands of *mahāyāna-vaipulya-dharmaparyāya*<sup>26</sup>.

Thus, we can see the transition of *vaitulya* to *vaipulya*-cum-*mahāyāna* in various versions of this scripture.

#### (4) *Avaivartikacakra-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*

There is another example, showing the shift from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahājñāna* (!), namely the *Avaivartikacakrasūtra*, of which there are three Chinese translations and a Tibetan one:

阿惟越致遮經 (\**Avaivarti(ka)ca(kra)-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*) by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護

<sup>23</sup> Tib(Pk), vol. 35, p. 121, 187a2. This title is found as well in the *Mahāvyutpatti*: Mvy. 1385. *Sarvavaidalya-samgraha*.

<sup>24</sup> T. 9, no. 274, 375c29f. 時有比丘名曰為法 ... 奉持方等千餘經卷。... 淨命比丘學方等經十四億卷, 及修餘經六百萬卷。

<sup>25</sup> Tib(Pk), vol. 35, p. 121, 190b7f. *dge slong Chos zhes bya ba phyin te // des rnam par 'thag pa'i mdo stong bzung ngo // bsam gtan bzhi yang thob par gyur to // dge slong 'Tsho ba yongs su dag par ni mdo sde bye ba phrag bcu dang // rnam par 'thag pa'i mdo sdug khri bzung par gyur to.*

<sup>26</sup> T. 9, no. 275, 380a18ff. 有一比丘名曰淨命, 總持諸經十四億部大乘經典六百萬部為大法師。... (380b2f.) 復有比丘名曰達摩。於大乘經方廣正典受持千部。

(284 C.E.<sup>27</sup>), T. 9, no. 266 (abbr. Dr)

廣博嚴淨不退轉輪經 (\**Avaivartikacakra-vaipulya-vyūha-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*) by Zhiyan 智嚴 in 427 C.E., T. 9, no. 268 (abbr. Zy)

不退轉法輪經 (\**Avaivartikacakra-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*) by an anonymous translator in the Beiliang 北涼 Period (401~439)<sup>28</sup>, T. 9, no. 267 (abbr. Bl)

'*phags pa Phyir mi ldog pa'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (*ārya-Avaivartacakra-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*), Tib(Pk), no. 906; Tib(D), no. 240 (abbr. Tib)

In the text itself, the title is referred to as follows:

Dr (284 C.E.) 不退轉輪方等之法(\**Avaivartikacakra-vaitulya-dharmaparyāya*)<sup>29</sup>

Zy (427 C.E.) 廣大不退轉輪(\**Avaivartikacakra-vaipulya*), 廣博嚴淨不退轉輪(\**Avaivartikacakra-vaipulya-vyūha*)<sup>30</sup>

Bl (427~? C.E.) 不退轉法輪廣博嚴淨(\**Avaivartikacakra-vaipulya-vyūha*)<sup>31</sup>

Tib. *Phyir mi ldog pa'i 'khor lo ye shes chen po bstan pa* (\**Avaivartikacakra-mahājñāna-nirdeśa*)<sup>32</sup>

The word *ye shes chen po* (*mahājñāna*) in the title of the Tibetan translation might be reminiscent of the confusion of *mahāyāna* / *mahājñāna* — I have demonstrated elsewhere that the term *mahāyāna* was originally *mahājñāna* (“great wisdom”), basically meaning *buddha-jñāna* (“buddha-wisdom”)<sup>33</sup>. It should be noted that none of these three Chinese translations is entitled as a *mahāyāna*-scripture.

Thus, we can see the transition of *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahājñāna* / *mahāyāna* in the various versions of this scripture.

## (5) *Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya*

Two Chinese translations and a Tibetan one of the *Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya* also illustrate the shift from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahāyāna*.

大方等如來藏經 (\**Mahāvaitulya-Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya*), translated by Buddhābhadda 佛陀跋陀羅 (359~429 C.E.) in 420 C.E.; T. 16, no. 666<sup>34</sup>

大方廣如來藏經 (\**Mahāvaipulya-Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya*), translated by Amoghavajra (705~774); T. 16, no. 667

<sup>27</sup> T. 55, no. 2145, 7c2. 《阿惟越致遮經》四卷 — 太康五年十月十四日出。

<sup>28</sup> Although we need to investigate this further, I assume that this translation was made by Daotai 道泰 (fl. 427~), as its title is cited in the Chinese translation of the \**Mahāyānāvatāra* 入大乘論 by Sthiramati 堅意, which was translated between 437~439 C.E. by Daotai as well: T. 32, no. 1634, 45b21f. 如《不退轉法輪經》中廣說。

<sup>29</sup> T. 9, no. 266, 226a3.

<sup>30</sup> T. 9, no. 268, 285a25f.

<sup>31</sup> T. 9, no. 267, 254b2f.

<sup>32</sup> Tib(Pk), vol. 36, no. 906, 320a7f.; Tib(D), no. 240, mDo sde, zha 301a2. Cf. Apple 2014: 161, n. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Karashima 2001a: 170, n. 115; 2001b: § 2.7, 215~217 and Karashima “Vehicle (*yāna*) and Wisdom (*jñāna*) in the Lotus Sutra — the Origin of the Notion of *yāna* in Mahāyāna Buddhism” in this volume.

<sup>34</sup> According to *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 (510~518 C.E.; T. 55, no. 2145), Faju 法炬 (fl. beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century) translated a text, which had the same title, namely the *Dafangdeng Rulaizang jing* 大方等如來藏經, but it was already lost by the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century: T. 55, no. 2145, 11c15. 《大方等如來藏經》一卷 — 或云《如來藏》。今闕; 14b12. 《大方等如來藏經》 — 釋法炬出《大方等如來藏》一卷。佛跋陀出《大方等如來藏》一卷。

'phags pa De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (*ārya-Tathāgatarbha-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*), translated by Śākyaprabha and Ye shes sde in ca. 800; Tib(Pk), no. 924; Tib(D), no. 258

In the text itself, the scripture is referred to as the *Tathāgatarbha-dharmaparyāya* (*De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i chos kyi rnam grangs* or - *chos kyi gzhung*<sup>35</sup>).

## (6) *Lalitavistara*

According to Kiyoshi Okano's meticulous studies, the *Lalitavistara* was composed probably in ca. 150 C.E. in Gandhāra by a monk of the Mahāsāṃghikas.<sup>36</sup> There are two Chinese translations.

普曜經 (\**Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*) alias 方等本起 (\**Vaitulya-nidāna*<sup>37</sup>), translated by Dharmarakṣa in 308 C.E.<sup>38</sup>; T. 3, no. 186 (abbr. Dr)

方廣大莊嚴經 (\**Vaipulya-mahā-Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*) alias 神通遊戲 (\**Vikrīḍita*), translated by Divākara 地婆訶羅 (614~688 C.E.); T. 3, no. 187 (abbr. Dv)

The Sanskrit version (abbr. LV): *śrīLalitavistaro nāma mahāyānasūtram ratnarājam* (LV 444.18) = 'phags pa rGya cher rol pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, Tib(Pk), no. 763, Tib(D), no. 95

In the text itself, the title is referred to as follows:

Dr. 483b18. 普曜大方等典(\**Lalitavistara-mahāvaitulya-dharmaparyāya*) (= 483c24), 484a3. 普曜經典大方等法(\**Lalitavistara-sūtra mahāvaitulya-dharmaparyāya*); 530c12. 普曜大方等法(\**Lalitavistara-mahāvaitulya-dharmaparyāya*)

Dv. 539b23f. 有經名為《方廣神通遊戲大莊嚴法門》(\**Vaipulyavikrīḍita-mahā-Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*); 540a10. 神通遊戲大嚴(v.l. 莊嚴)經典(\**Vikrīḍita-mahā-Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*); 540a15f. 方廣神通遊戲大嚴(v.l. 莊嚴)經典(\**Vaipulya-vikrīḍita-mahā-Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*); cf. 588a9. 方廣神通遊戲大嚴之定

LV 4.17f. = LV(H) 274.10. *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-nicayo*; 6.16 = LV(H) 276.28f. *Lalitavistaram nāma dharmaparyāyam*; 7.20f. = LV(H) 282.3. *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ sūtrānto mahāvaipulyaḥ*; 438.20f. *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyasūtrānto mahāvaipulyabodhisattva-vikrīḍitaḥ*; cf. LV 7.9 = LV(H) 278.25f. *idaṃ ... vaipulyasūtram hi mahānidānam*; 7.15 = LV(H) 280.9f. *tad ... vaipulyasūtram hi mahānidānam*

Thus, this text also illustrates the shift from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahāyāna*.

## (7) *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*

As I have demonstrated elsewhere<sup>39</sup>, there are many instances of the variation of

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Zimmermann 2002: 354.1f, 355.1f.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Okano 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990; de Jong 1998: 252f.; cf. also LV(H) 82~116.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. LV 7.9. *idaṃ ... vaipulyasūtram hi mahānidānam*; 7.15. *tad ... vaipulyasūtram hi mahānidānam*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Kaiyuan Shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄 (730~ C.E.): “《普曜經》八卷: 一名《方等本起》。安公云‘出方等部’。永嘉二年五月於天水寺出。第二譯。……” (T. 55, no. 2154, 494a19f.) = *Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (800 C.E.), T. 55, no. 2157, 791b7f.

<sup>39</sup> Karashima 1992: 29 (63b-5), 37 (66a-12), 51(70b7), 80(79c9), 80(79c-11), 102(86c-7), 114(91c-6), 120(93c4), 278, note on 63b-5; Krsh 1998: 133~134.

*vaitulya* / *vaipulya* among the Sanskrit manuscripts and Chinese translations of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*.

Where the Sanskrit manuscripts and fragments from Central Asia (abbr. O, SIP, H<sub>6</sub>, Wille 2000), dating between the 5<sup>th</sup>~8<sup>th</sup> centuries, generally read *vaitulya*, the Gilgit (the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century) and the Nepalese manuscripts (from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards; abbr. KN<sup>40</sup>) have *vaipulya* instead<sup>41</sup>. The readings *shin tu rgyas* and *rab rgyas* in the Tibetan translation agree with the latter. Dharmarakṣa's translation (abbr. Dr; T. 9, no. 263) in 286 C.E. reads *fangdeng* (= *vaitulya*), while Kumārajīva's translation (abbr. Kj; T. 9, no. 262) in 406 C.E. has *dasheng* 大乘 (= *mahāyāna*) / *dashengjing* 大乘經 ("teaching of *mahāyāna*"):

Dr. 63b25. 方等; KN. 5.8. *mahāvaipulya*~ (= O etc.); SIP/11, no. 40<sup>42</sup>. *mahāvaitulya*~; Kj. 2b8. 大乘經

Dr. 66a18. 方等正經; KN. 19.12. *mahāvaipulya*~; O. *mahāvaitulya*~; Kj. 4a9. 大乘經

Dr. 70b12. 方等經; KN. 46.8. *vaipulya-sūtra*~; O. *vaitulya-sūtra*~; Kj. 8a14. 大乘

Dr. 79c9. 方等; KN. 98.3. *vaipulya*~; O, H<sub>6</sub>(302)<sup>43</sup>, Wille 2000: 47. *vaitulya*~; Kj. 16a21. 大乘

Dr. 79c19. 方等經; KN. 98.11. *vaipulya-sūtra*~; O. *vaitulya-sūtra*~; Kj. 16a28. 大乘

Dr. 81a19. 方等; KN. 110.6. -; Kj. 17c6. 大乘

Dr. 86c23. 方等經; KN. 146.8. *vaipulya-sūtrānta*~; O. *vaitulya-sūtrānta*~; Kj. 20c22. 大乘經典

A very important claim in the Lotus Sutra is that the *vaipulya*- / *vaitulya-sūtras* are the true teachings, while the traditional nine categories of teachings (e.g. *sūtra*, *gāthā*, *itivr̥ttaka* etc.) are none other than expedient means. For example, in verses 45~50 of the *Upāyakaūśalya-parivarta*, the Buddha says, "I have preached the nine categories of teachings as expedient means to lead people, in accordance to their abilities, to the Buddha's wisdom. Now, here are pure, clever, gentle sons of the Buddha, who have given service to many millions of *buddhas*. I shall then preach to them the *vaipulya*- / *vaitulya-sūtras* (Dr. 70b7. 方等經 = O, Wille 1998: 245. *vaitulya-sūtra*~; KN. 46.4. *vaipulya-sūtra*~; Kj. 8a10. 大乘經)."

What is very important here to note is the fact that this scripture is called (*mahā*-)*vaitulya* / -*vaipulya* in the text itself.

Dr. 66b2. 《正法華》方等; KN. 21.1. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ*; O. *Sad° nāma dha° sūtraṃ mahāvaitulyaṃ*; Kj. 4a24. 大乘經名《妙法蓮華》

Dr. 66b7. 《法華方等正經》; KN. 21.6. *Sad° dharmaparyāya~ sūtrānta~ mahāvaipulya~*; O. *Sad° dharma° sūtra~ mahāvaitulya~*; Kj. 4a29. 是經

Dr. 91c24. 《正法華方等經典》; KN. 181.5f. *Sad° nāma dharma° sūtrānta~ mahāvaipulya~*; O. *Sad° nāma dharma° sūtra~ mahāvaitulya~*; Kj. 25a28. 大乘經名《妙法蓮華》

Dr. 124b3. 《正法華經》方等典詔; KN. 389.7f. *Sad° nāma dharma° sūtrānta~*

<sup>40</sup> When the reading in the Gilgit manuscripts is different from that in the Kern-Nanjio edition, which is mainly based on the Nepalese manuscripts, it is noted.

<sup>41</sup> The occurrences of *vaitulya* and its more Middle Indic form *vetulya* in the Central Asian MSS. were investigated in Toda 1974: 68~69.

<sup>42</sup> A reading of a fragment from the Petrovsky Collection, found in Bongard-Levin/Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja 1985: 127.

<sup>43</sup> A reading of a fragment at the British Library: Toda 1983: 302.2.

*mahāvaipulya~*; O. *Sad° nāma dharma° sūtra~ mahāvaipulya~* (sic); Kj. 52a5. 大乘經名《妙法蓮華》

Dr. 93c3f. 斯《正法華》... 大方等經; KN. 193.7. *Sad° vaipulyasūtra~*; O. <*Sad°*> *vaitupulyasūtra~*; Kj. 26c10. 《法華經》

Also, at the end of each chapter of the scripture, the Gilgit-Nepalese manuscripts read *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka~ dharmaparyāya~*, while the so-called Kashgar manuscript (O) and another Central Asian manuscript, discovered in Farhād-Bēg Yailaki, now kept in the British Library, read instead *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka~ mahāvaipulyasūtraratna~* and *Saddharma-pūṇḍarīka~ mahāvaitulyasūtraratna~*, respectively. The latter agrees with the reading in a Khotanese summary of this scripture: *Saddharmapūṇḍarī~ sūtra~ ... mahāvittūlyasūtrīnai ramṇā*<sup>44</sup>. Moreover, the earliest Chinese translation of the Lotus Sutra by Dharmarakṣa in 286 C.E. is now called the *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經 but, according to Sengyou (445~518)'s *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 (T. 55, no. 2145, 7b14; 510~518 C.E.), it was called the *Fangdeng zhengfahua jing* 方等正法華經<sup>45</sup>. According to the Chinese catalogues, there was another Chinese translation, consisting of 5 *juans*, namely the *Fangdeng fahua jing* 方等法華經 by Zhi Daogen in 335 C.E., which is now lost<sup>46</sup>.

Presumably, the title of the original text of Dharmarakṣa's translation contained the word *vaitulya* or the like as do the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts. The original text of Kumārajīva's translation might have had the same reading, but he translated it as *dasheng* 大乘 by regarding *vaitulya* as a synonym of *mahāyāna*. It is highly unlikely that the original text had read *mahāyāna* instead of *vaitulya* in all occurrences. This latter form was replaced later by *vaipulya*. In this connection, it is remarkable that in the so-called Kashgar manuscript, we find peculiar forms, namely *vaitupulyasūtram* (186 verso 1; cf. KN. 193.7. *vaipulyasūtram*) and *mahāvaitupulyasūtra-* (211 recto 6; cf. KN. 223.3. -), which hint at the vacillation of the transmission between *vaitulya* and *vaipulya*, and probably the scribe was at a loss which to choose and thus made an amalgamated form.

It should be noted also that, in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sutra, the expression, meaning “*mahāyāna* scripture”, never occurs, which indicates that it had not been common at that time, while it became popular in Kumārajīva's time.

## (8) \**vevulla-*, *vaitulya-*, *vaipulya-* and *mahāyāna*-scriptures in Chinese catalogues

### (8.1) \**vevulla-* and *vaitulya*-scriptures in Dao'an's catalogue

Sengyou (僧祐 445~518)'s *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 (T. 55, no. 2145; 510~518 C.E.) is the oldest existing catalogue of Buddhist scriptures. In its third *juan*, a much earlier catalogue, namely the *Zongli Zhongjing Mulu* 綜理衆經目錄 (374~385 C.E.?)<sup>47</sup>, compiled by Dao'an (道安; 312~385 C.E.), is partially quoted (T. 55, 15b~19c). By investigating Dao'an's catalogue, though far from complete, we are able to know which of the three, i.e.

<sup>44</sup> See Bailey 1971: 53. Cf. Norman, CP II 44f.

<sup>45</sup> T. 55, no. 2145, 7b14. 《正法華經》十卷 — 二十七品。舊錄云《正法華經》或云《方等正法華經》太康七年八月十日出。

<sup>46</sup> *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 (597? C.E.) by Fei Changfang 費長房, T. 49, no. 2034, 69a26f. 《方等法華經》五卷。咸康元年譯……成帝世，沙門支道根出。Cf. also T. 49, no. 2035, 339c22; T. 55, 2149, 244c13.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Hayashiya 1941: 351ff.

*vaitulya* / *vaipulya* / *mahāyāna* had been used in underlying Indian texts of the Chinese translations made by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

A text, namely the *Dazhenbaoji Weiri jing* 大珍寶積惟日經 is referred to (19b19), which presumably is a scribal error for the *Dazhenbaoji Weiyue jing* 大珍寶積惟日經, a translation of the \**Mahāratnakūṭa yevulla-dharmaparyāya*.

There are two texts which bear the title *fangdeng* 方等 (= *vaitulya*): 內藏大方等經<sup>48</sup> (one *juan*; 18a15), 方等決經<sup>49</sup> (one *juan*; 19c3). There are five texts which Dao'an had classified as the *fangdengbu* 方等部 or *vaitulya* category, namely 菩薩道地經 (one *juan*; 15b24), 鴈披陀菩薩經 (one *juan*; 15b22), 內外六波羅蜜經 (one *juan*; 17c25), 目佉經 (one *juan*; 18a23), 放鉢經 (one *juan*; 18b13).

Thus, there are scriptures which bear the title \**vevulla* or *vaitulya*, or are classified as *vaitulya*, while there is no text which bears *vaipulya* or *mahāyāna* in Dao'an's catalogue.

### (8.2) \**vevulla*-, *vaitulya*-, *vaipulya*- and *mahāyāna*-scriptures in the *Chusanjangji ji*

Apart from Buddhist scriptures listed in Dao'an's old catalogue, 910 titles of Buddhist scriptures are referred to in Sengyou (445~518)'s *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 (518 C.E.; T. 55, no. 2145).

Except for 遺曰(←日)摩尼寶經 (29c17; \**vevulla*-*Maṇiratna-dharmaparyāya*) and 遺曰(←日)寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經 (\**vevulla*-*Ratnaśāṣṭhī-maṇjuśrī-paripṛcchā-dharmadhātu-dharmaparyāya*), which we have investigated above, there had been 遺曰(←日)說般若經 (\**vevulla*-*Prajñāpāramitā*?), an old *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture of the *vaitulya* category, translated by Lokakṣema, but already lost by the time of Sengyou.<sup>50</sup> Also, there are two titles which seem to be \**vevulla* scriptures: 惟曰(←日)雜難經 (29a6; T. 17, no. 760, translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 [fl. 222~252 C.E.]) and 惟曰(←日)三昧經 (36c23; now lost).

There are 12 scriptures which bear (*da*)*fangdeng* (= [*mahā*]-*vaitulya*) in their titles: 十二門大方等經 (one *juan*; 7a21; lost; trans. by ZQ); 方等正法華經 (7b14; trans. by Dr in 286 C.E.); 濟諸方等經 alias 濟諸方等學經 (7c20; trans. by Dr); 方等泥洹經 (2 *juans*; 8a10; trans. by Dr in 269 C.E.); 大方等頂王經 (8a15; trans. by Dr); 大方等如來藏經 (9c20, 14b12 by Buddhābhadda in 420 C.E.); 大方等如來藏經 (11c15, 14b12 by Faju 法炬 at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century; lost); 方等大集經 (29 *juans*; 11b12; trans. by Dharmakṣema [fl. 412~433 C.E.]); 方等王虛空藏經 (5 *juans*; 11b13, 14c14; trans. by Dharmakṣema); 方等大雲經 alias 方等無想大雲經 (4 or 6 *juans*; 11b16; trans. by Dharmakṣema); 方等泥洹經 (2 *juans*; 11c26; lost; trans. by Faxian 法顯 at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century); 方等檀特陀羅尼經 alias 大方等陀羅尼 (4 *juans*; 12a15; trans. by Fazhong 法衆 sometime between 397~418 C.E.).

Except for these, there is another text which bears both *fangdeng* and *dasheng* (*mahāyāna*) in its title, namely 大乘方等要慧經 alias 方等慧經 alias 要慧經 (one *juan*; 29c16; T. 12, no. 348). Fei Changfang (費長房)'s *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.) mistakenly ascribed this text to An Shigao, but the use of the expressions 吾 ("I"), 汝 ("you"), 敢 ("all"), 大佳 ("very good"), 善權 ("expedient means") and 大乘 ("Great Vehicle")

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Hayashiya 1941: 520f.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Hayashiya 1941: 1146f.

<sup>50</sup> T. 55, no. 2145, 6b14. 方等部古品{曰}《遺曰(←日)說般若經》一卷今闕; 14a1. 《般若經》——支識出《般若道行品經》十卷, 出古品《遺曰(←日)說般若》一卷.

indicate that it was translated by Zhi Qian 支謙, Dharmarakṣa or their contemporaries. Presumably, the word *dasheng* 大乘 (= *mahāyāna*) was later added to the title.

There are seven texts which Dao'an had classified as part of the *fangdengbu* 方等部, or *vaitulya* category, namely 問署經 alias 文殊問菩薩署經 (one *juan*; 6b18; trans. by Lk), 內藏百品經 (one *juan*; 6b23; trans. by Lk), 法鏡經 (one *juan*; 6c3; trans. by An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 in 181 C.E.), 普曜經 (8 *juans*; 7b15; trans. by Dr in 308 C.E.), 頂王經 (one *juan*; 8a15; this is another title of the above-quoted 大方等頂王經<sup>51</sup>; trans. by Dr), 樓炭經 (5 *juans*; 8c20; trans. by Dr) and 內外六波羅蜜經 alias 內六波羅蜜經 (one *juan*; 17c25; trans. by Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 in 188 C.E.; T. 17, no. 778. 菩薩內習六波羅蜜經). Except for these, the *Lidai Sanbao ji* lists 賴吒和羅經 (one *juan*; the *Rāṣṭrapāla-sūtra*), which had been classified as *fangdengbu* 方等部 by Dao'an.<sup>52</sup>

There are three scriptures, which bear *dafangguang* (= *mahā-vaipulya*) in their titles: 大方廣佛華嚴經 (50 *juans*; 11c10; trans. by Buddhābhaddra in 420 C.E.; T. 9, no. 278); 大方廣如來性起微密藏經 alias 如來性起經 (2 *juans*; 21c18; an excerpt of the chapter of *Xingqi* 性起品 [*Tathāgatotpattisambhavanirdeśa*] in the preceding translation<sup>53</sup>), 大方廣菩薩十地經 (one *juan*; 22c24; trans. by Jijiaye 吉迦夜 [\*Kimkārya?; fl. ca. 472~C.E.]; T. 10, no. 308). It is remarkable that these three scriptures are translations of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*.

There are four titles which bear *dasheng* 大乘 or *mohesheng* 摩訶乘 (= *mahāyāna*) in their titles: 大乘方便經 (2 *juans*; 21c27; trans. by Nandi [竺難提; fl. 419~C.E.]; T. 11, no. 310-38); the above-mentioned 大乘方等要慧經 of which *dasheng* 大乘 is perhaps a later addition; 摩訶乘寶嚴經 (one *juan*; 29b25; trans. by an anonymous translator in the Jin Dynasty [265~420 C.E.]; i.e. 摩訶衍寶嚴經 \**mahāyāna-Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya*); 摩訶乘經<sup>54</sup> (14 *juans*; 32a8; \**mahāyāna-sūtra*; lost). The last one is dubious for a title of a single scripture.

Thus, among the titles of scriptures quoted in the *Chusanjangji ji*, there are 4 \**vevulla*-scriptures, 12 (*mahā*)*vaitulya*-ones, 3 *mahāvaipulya*-ones and 3 *mahāyāna*-scriptures. As we have seen above, the \**vevulla*- and (*mahā*)*vaitulya*-scriptures were renamed later as *mahāyāna-sūtras*. Therefore, we can conclude that the scriptures, which were later and are presently called *mahāyāna-sūtras*, had been originally labelled as \**vevulla*- / *vaitulya*-. Only translations of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* were labelled *vaipulya*. Most probably 大乘方便經 or 摩訶乘(= 衍)寶嚴經 is the very first *mahāyāna*-scripture which was named as such and it appeared as late as the beginning of the fifth century.

### (8.3) *mahāvaitulya*- / *mahāvaipulya*- / *mahāyāna*- scriptures in the *Lidai Sanbao ji*

The *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.; T. 49, no. 2034) by Fei Changfang 費長房 is the second oldest extant catalogue of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. It was compiled about eighty years after the *Chusanjangji ji* and many of the titles in it, are merely

<sup>51</sup> T. 55, no. 2145, 8a15. 《頂王經》一卷 — 一名《維詰子問經》。安公云出方等部或云《大方等頂王經》。

<sup>52</sup> T. 49, no. 2034, 53c18. 《賴吒和羅經》一卷 — 初出道安云：“出方等部”。

<sup>53</sup> Kimura 1999: 678f.; Kawano 2006: 238f.

<sup>54</sup> Sengyou commented as follows: 《摩訶乘經》十四卷 — 改字訓曰(←日)“乘”, which means that he changed the transliteration *yan* 衍 of 摩訶衍經 to the translation *sheng* 乘.



copied from the latter catalogue. Therefore, we are able to regard only the following as newly-added titles:

There are 12 scriptures which bear (*da*)*fangdeng* (= [*mahā*]-*vaitulya*) in their titles: 方等首楞嚴經 (2 *juans*; 57b7; trans. by ZQ in 223 C.E.); 大方等無相經 alias 方等大雲經 alias 方等無相大雲經 alias 大雲無相經 alias 大雲密藏經 (4, 5 or 6 *juans*; 77a19, 84b2, 109c26; = T. 12, no. 387. 大方等無想經 trans. by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 in 426 C.E.); 佛藏大方等經 (one *juan*; 94a3; trans. by Daoyan 道嚴 in the Song Dynasty [420~479 C.E.; lost]); 大方等修多羅王經 (one *juan*; 111b18; trans. by Bodhiruci 菩提流支 in 535 C.E.); 大方等日藏經 (15 *juans*; 102c10; trans. by Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍 in 585 C.E.).

There are two scriptures, which bear *dafangguang* (= *mahā*-*vaipulya*) in their titles: 大方廣如來祕密藏經 (one *juan*; 112c4; trans. by an anonymous translator during the Three Qin Dynasties [351~431 C.E.; T. 17, no. 821) and 大方廣寶篋經 (3 *juans*; 91b4; trans. by Guṇabhadra in 443 C.E.; T. 14, no. 462).

There are five scriptures, which bear *mahāyāna* in their titles: 大乘璎珞莊嚴經 alias 樂璎珞莊嚴方便經 (one *juan*; 94a14; trans. by Dharmayaśa 曇摩耶舍 [fl. 405~]; T. 14, no. 566); 大乘寶雲經 (8 *juans*; 88b26; trans. by \*Maṇḍalasena 曼陀羅仙 and \*Saṅghabhara? 僧伽婆羅 in the Liang Dynasty [502~557 C.E.]; the *Ratnamegha-sūtra*; T. 16, no. 659 ); 大乘頂王經 (one *juan*; 98c17; trans. by \*Upaśūnya 月婆首那 in 538~541 C.E.; T. 14, no. 478); 大乘同性經 (2 or 4 *juans*; 100b13, 110b6; trans. by \*Jinayaśa or \*Jñānayaśa 闍那耶舍 in 570 C.E.; T. 16, no. 673); 大乘方廣總持經 (one *juan*; 102c2, 112a16; trans. by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 in 582 C.E.; T. 9, no. 275; see above [3]).

There are also two dubious scriptures, bearing *mahāyāna* in their titles: 摩訶衍優波提舍經 (5 *juans*; 60a28; \**Mahāyāna-upadeśa*; lost); 大乘蓮華馬頭羅剎經 (one *juan*; 113c7; \**Mahāyāna-Padmāśvagrīvarakṣa-sūtra*; lost)

Thus, in this catalogue compiled by ca. 597 C.E., 12 *vaitulya*-scriptures, two *mahā*-*vaipulya*-ones, seven *mahāyāna*-scriptures, including dubious ones, are found in addition to those in the *Chusanjangji*.

We can recognise that *vaitulya*-scriptures were still thriving at that time, though *mahāyāna*-scriptures were on the rise during the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

#### (8.4) The disappearance of *vaitulya*-scriptures and the rise of *mahāyāna*-scriptures during the Tang and Song Dynasties

We have seen above, the titles of scriptures found in various catalogues, quite a few of which have been lost. Following are the titles of existent scriptures which bear \**vevulla*, *fangdeng* (*vaitulya*) / *dafangdeng* (*mahāvaitulya*) in them:

No. 350. 遺曰(←日)摩尼寶經 trans. by Lokakṣema in 179 C.E.; see above (1)

No. 356. 寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經 alias 遺曰(←日)寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經 trans. by Lokakṣema?; see above (2)

No. 348. {大乘}方等要慧經 alias 方等慧經, mistakenly ascribed this text to An Shigao; probably trans. by Zhi Qian 支謙, Dharmarakṣa or their contemporaries; see (8.2)

No. 274. 濟諸方等學經 by Dharmarakṣa (ca. 233~311 C.E.); see (3)

No. 378. 方等般泥經 by Dharmarakṣa

No. 477. 大方等頂王經 by Dharmarakṣa

- No. 1339. 大方等陀羅尼經 trans. by Fazhong 法衆 sometime between 397~418 C.E.  
 No. 666. 大方等如來藏經 by Buddhahadra in 420 C.E.  
 No. 387. 大方等無想經: trans. by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 in 426 C.E.  
 No. 575. 大方等修多羅王經 trans. by Bodhiruci in 535 C.E.  
 No. 992. 大方等大雲經請雨品 trans. by \*Jinayaśa or \*Jñānayaśa 闍那耶舍 in the Beizhou Dynasty 北周 (557~581 C.E.)  
 No. 397-14: 日藏分 alias 大乘大方等日藏經 trans. by Narendrayaśa in 585 C.E.  
 No. 397-15: 月藏分 alias 大方等大集月藏經 trans. by Narendrayaśa in 585 C.E.  
 No. 397. 大方等大集經: the first half was trans. mainly by Dharmakṣema between 414~426 C.E. while the latter half by Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍 in 585 C.E., and compiled as one collection by Sengjiu 僧就 in 586 C.E.  
 No. 416. 大方等大集經賢護分, translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 in 594/595 C.E.  
 No. 310-36. 善住意天子會 alias 大方等住意天子所問經 trans. by Dharmagupta 達摩笈多在 the Sui 隋 Dynasty sometime between 605~616 C.E. (大業).  
 No. 415. 大方等大集經菩薩念佛三昧分 trans. by Dharmagupta sometime between 605~616 C.E.

Thus, there are 17 *\*vevulla / vaitulya- / mahāvaitulya-scriptures*, spanning from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It should be also noted that in the beginning, *\*vevulla* and *vaitulya-* were used but later only the term *mahāvaitulya* was utilised. The last scriptures of this genre were translated at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, after which it disappeared.

The following are the titles of existent scriptures, which bear the titles *fangguang (vaipulya) / dafangguang (mahāvaipulya)* in them:

- No. 1489. 清淨毘尼方廣經 by Kumārajīva at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century  
 No. 278. 大方廣佛華嚴經 trans. by Buddhahadra 佛馱跋陀羅 in 420 C.E.  
 No. 821. 大方廣如來祕密藏經 trans. by an anonymous translator probably during the Three Qin Dynasties (351~431 C.E.)  
 No. 311. 大方廣三戒經 trans. by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 in the Beiliang 北涼 Dynasty (401~439 C.E.)  
 No. 410. 大方廣十輪經 trans. by an anonymous translator probably in the Beiliang 北涼 Dynasty (401~439 C.E.)  
 No. 353. 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 trans. by Guṇabhadra in the Song Dynasty (420~479 C.E.)  
 No. 462. 大方廣寶篋經 trans. by Guṇabhadra in the Song Dynasty (420~479 C.E.)  
 No. 308. 大方廣菩薩十地經 trans. by Jijiaye 吉迦夜 \*Kimkārya? (fl. ca. 472~ C.E.)  
 No. 275. 大乘方廣總持經 trans. by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 in 582 C.E.  
 No. 187. 方廣大莊嚴經 trans. by Divākara 地婆訶羅 (614~688 C.E.)  
 No. 295. 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品 trans. by Divākara (614~688 C.E.)  
 No. 836. 大方廣師子吼經 trans. by 地婆訶羅 Divākara in 680 C.E.  
 No. 1181. 大方廣菩薩藏經中文殊師利根本一字陀羅尼經 trans. by Baosiwei 寶思惟 \*Mañicinta(na)? in 702 C.E.  
 No. 279. 大方廣佛華嚴經 trans. by 實叉難陀 Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)

- No. 298. 大方廣普賢所說經 trans. by Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)  
 No. 301. 大方廣如來不思議境界經 trans. by Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)  
 No. 304. 大方廣入如來智德不思議經 trans. by Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)  
 No. 300. 大方廣華嚴經不思議佛境界分 trans. by 提雲般若 Devaprajñā (or Devendra-prajñā) (fl. 689?~741? C.E.)  
 No. 306. 大方廣佛花嚴經修慈分 trans. by Devaprajñā  
 No. 667. 大方廣如來藏經 trans. by 不空 Amoghavajra (705~774 C.E.)  
 No. 1019. 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品四十二字觀門 trans. by Amoghavajra  
 No. 1101. 大方廣曼殊室利經 trans. by Amoghavajra  
 No. 1215. 大方廣曼殊室利菩薩華嚴本教閻曼德迦忿怒王真言大威德儀軌品 trans. by an anonymous translator or by Amoghavajra  
 No. 1216. 大方廣曼殊室利童真菩薩華嚴本教讚閻曼德迦忿怒王真言阿毘遮嚕迦儀軌品 trans. by an anonymous translator or Amoghavajra  
 No. 293. 大方廣佛華嚴經 trans. by Prajñā 般若 (fl. ca. 800 C.E.)  
 No. 1191. 大方廣菩薩藏文殊師利根本儀軌經 trans. by 天息災 alias 法賢 (fl. 980~1000 C.E.)  
 No. 299. 大方廣總持寶光明經 trans. by 法天 alias 法賢 (fl. 973~1001/1002 C.E.)  
 No. 346. 佛說大方廣善巧方便經 trans. by Shihu 施護 Dānapāla (~1017/1018 C.E.)  
 No. 844. 佛說大方廣未曾有經善巧方便品 trans. by Dānapāla (~1017/1018 C.E.)  
 No. 438. 佛說大乘大方廣佛冠經 trans. by Fahu 法護 Dharmapāla (963~1058/59 C.E.)

Thus, there are 30 *vaipulya-* / *mahāvaipulya*-scriptures, spanning from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Also, it should be noted that these titles were used often for Vajrayāna scriptures as well as those in the *Avataṃsaka* collection. Apart from these, it is remarkable that, while the (*mahā*)*vaitulya* disappeared in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, (*mahā*)*vaipulya* continued to flourish even more — 21 out of the 30 (*mahā*)*vaipulya*-scriptures appeared from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Actually, the former title was replaced with the latter one in many scriptures as we have seen above.

The following are the titles of existent scriptures, bearing *mahāyāna* in them:

- No. 348. {大乘}方等要慧經 alias 方等慧經, mistakenly ascribed to An Shigao, but probably trans. by Zhi Qian 支謙, Dharmarakṣa or their contemporaries; presumably, the term *dasheng* 大乘 (= *mahāyāna*) was added later to the title. (See [8.2])  
 No. 351. 摩訶衍寶嚴經 trans. by an anonymous translator in the Jin Dynasty (265~420 C.E.); probably translated at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century  
 No. 566. 大乘瓔珞莊嚴經 alias 樂瓔珞莊嚴方便經 trans. by Dharmayaśa 曇摩耶舍 (fl. 405~ C.E.)  
 No. 310-38. 大乘方便會 alias 大乘方便經 trans. by Nandi 竺難提 (fl. 419~ C.E.)  
 No. 158. 大乘悲分陀利經 trans. by an anonymous translator probably in the Qin Dynasty (351~431 C.E.)  
 No. 310-9. 十法經 alias 大乘十法會 trans. by Buddhaśānta 佛陀扇多在 539 C.E.  
 No. 478. 大乘頂王經 trans. by \*Upaśūnya 月婆首那 between 538~541 C.E.  
 No. 659. 大乘寶雲經 trans. by \*Maṇḍalasena 曼陀羅仙 and \*Saṅghabhara? 僧伽婆羅 in

- the Liang Dynasty (502~557 C.E.)
- No. 314. 佛說大乘十法經 trans. by \*Saṅghabhara? 僧伽婆羅 in the Liang Dynasty (502~557 C.E.)
- No. 673. 大乘同性經 trans. by \*Jinayaśa or \*Jñānayaśa 闍那耶舍 in 570 C.E.
- No. 275. 大乘方廣總持經 trans. by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 in 582 C.E.
- No. 397-14: 日藏分 alias 大乘大方等日藏經 trans. by Narendrayaśa in 585 C.E.
- No. 158. 大乘悲分陀利經; No. 1493. 大乘三聚懺悔經 both trans. by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 (523~601 C.E.)
- No. 411. 大乘大集地藏十輪經 trans. by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602~664 C.E.)
- No. 347. 大乘顯識經; No. 661. 大乘百福相經; No. 662. 大乘百福莊嚴相經; No. 674. 證契大乘經; No. 681. 大乘密嚴經; No. 772. 大乘四法經; No. 829. 大乘離文字普光明藏經; No. 830. 大乘遍照光明藏無字法門經 all trans. by 地婆訶羅 Divākara (614~688 C.E.)
- No. 467. 大乘伽耶山頂經; No. 568. 有德女所問大乘經; No. 1130. 大乘金剛髻珠菩薩修行分 all trans. by 菩提流志 Bodhiruci in ca. 693 C.E.
- No. 672. 大乘入楞伽經; No. 774. 大乘四法經 both trans. by 實叉難陀 Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)
- No. 577. 大乘流轉諸有經 trans. by 義淨 (635~713 C.E.)
- No. 694. 大乘造像功德經 trans. by 提雲般若 Devaprajñā, Devendraprajñā (fl. 689?~741? C.E.)
- No. 682. 大乘密嚴經; No. 710. 慈氏菩薩所說大乘緣生稻稊喻經; No. 1177A. 大乘瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經; No. 1215. 大乘方廣曼殊室利菩薩華嚴本教闍曼德迦忿怒王真言大威德儀軌品; No. 1253. 大吉祥天女十二契一百八名無垢大乘經 all trans. by 不空 Amoghavajra (705~774 C.E.)
- No. 159. 大乘本生心地觀經; No. 261. 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經 trans. by 般若 Prajña (fl. ca. 800 C.E.)
- No. 936 大乘無量壽經 alias 無量壽宗要經 trans. by Facheng 法成 (8<sup>th</sup>~ the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century)
- No. 363. 大乘無量壽莊嚴經; No. 472. 大乘善見變化文殊師利問法經; No. 473. 妙吉祥菩薩所問大乘法螺經; No. 939. 大乘觀想曼拏羅淨諸惡趣經; No. 1050. 大乘莊嚴寶王經; No. 1168A. 大乘八大曼拏羅經 all trans. by 天息災 alias 法賢 (fl. 980~1000 C.E.)
- No. 333. 大乘日子王所問經; No. 937. 大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經; No. 1128. 最上大乘金剛大教寶王經; No. 1164. 大乘聖吉祥持世陀羅尼經 all trans. by 法天 alias 法賢 (fl. 973~1001/1002 C.E.)
- No. 316. 大乘菩薩藏正法經; No. 321. 護國尊者所問大乘經; No. 331. 無畏授所問大乘經; No. 437. 大乘寶月童子問法經; No. 711. 大乘舍黎娑擔摩經; No. 843. 大乘不思議神通境界經; No. 1497. 大乘戒經 all trans. by 施護 Dānapāla (~1017/1018 C.E.)
- No. 652. 大乘隨轉宣說諸法經 trans. by 紹德 (fl. the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century)
- No. 312. 如來不思議祕密大乘經; No. 316. 大乘菩薩藏正法經; No. 359. 大乘入諸佛境界智光明莊嚴經; No. 438. 大乘大方廣佛冠經 all trans. by 法護 Dharmapāla

(963~1058/1059 C.E.)

No. 543. 巨力長者所問大乘經; No. 634. 大乘智印經 both trans. by 智吉祥 Jñānaśrī (fl. 1053~ C.E.)

Thus, there are 61 *mahāyāna*-scriptures, spanning from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It should be noted that many *mahāyāna*-scriptures started appearing from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Also, it should be pointed out that many of these translators quoted here, namely \*Jinayaśa (or \*Jñānayaśa), Jñānagupta, Divākara, Śikṣānanda, Devaprajñā (or Devendraprajñā), Amoghavajra, Prajña, Tianxizai 天息災, Fatian 法天 and Dānapāla, translated both *mahā-vaipulya*- and *mahāyāna*-scriptures. It is clear that these two types of titles flourished side by side.

The following is a table of the frequency of the three types of titles in each century:

	* <i>vevulla</i> <i>vaitulya</i> <i>mahāvaitulya</i>	<i>vaipulya</i> <i>mahāvaipulya</i>	<i>mahāyāna</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> century	2 * <i>vevulla</i>		
3 <sup>rd</sup> ~4 <sup>th</sup>	4		
5 <sup>th</sup>	3	8	4
6 <sup>th</sup>	6	1	9
7 <sup>th</sup>	2 (~616 C.E.)	3	12
8 <sup>th</sup>		13	9
9 <sup>th</sup>		1	3
10 <sup>th</sup> ~11 <sup>th</sup>		5	24

From this table, it is clear that the older title (*mahā*)*vaitulya* was used only until the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, while the newer title (*mahā*)*vaipulya* remained popular even after that, and that the title *mahāyāna* was used more and more frequently.

### (9) Etymology and Meaning of *vaitulya*

Although there have been many explanations<sup>55</sup>, the etymology and meaning of the Pāli *vedalla*, *vetulla*, *vetulya*, Buddhist Sanskrit *vaitulya*, *vaipulya*, *vaidalya*, Old Khotanese *vittūlya* still remain obscure.<sup>56</sup>

Egaku Maeda has investigated thoroughly the conventional explanations of

<sup>55</sup> E.g. Burnouf 1852: 754; Wogihara 1938: 406~412; Bailey 1955: 20; Maeda 1964: 389f.; Norman 1978 = Norman CP II 44f.; *ibid.* 1983: 16, n. 8; Karashima 1992: 278 (on 63b-5); von Hinüber 1994: 134f. = 2009: 172f.; Anālayo 2012: 61, n. 54; Skilling 2013: 84ff. (with detailed references). The following are the etymologies of *vedalla*, assumed by various scholars: *veda* + *lla* (= *lya*) (Buddhaghosa, Kaccāyana); *veda* + *lla*-suffix (Wogihara); *vedalla* < *vaidalya* < *vi-√dal* (Burnouf); *vedalla* < *veda-ariya* (PTSD); *vedalla* < *vaidārya* < *vi-√tī* (Jayawickrama 1962: 102, n. 31.9).

<sup>56</sup> Norman (CP II 44) writes: “*Vaitulya* and *Vaipulya* must be back-formations from Prakrit \**ve(y)ulla*, and \**vevulla*, which are presumably merely variants of the same word with -*y*/-*v*- glide consonant alternation. There is no way of telling which, if either, of the forms with -*t*- or -*p*- is historically correct.” von Hinüber (1994 = 2009: 172f.) also writes: “Der Sinn des letzten Wortes (9) *vedalla*- bleibt ganz dunkel. Im Anschluß an Sp 29,1 denkt Aggavaṃsa an eine Verbindung mit *veda*-. Unmöglich ist diese Analyse als *veda-lla*- nicht, da -*lla*-Suffixe durchaus zur ältesten Sprache des Buddhismus zählen. Wenn die Sanskrit-Entsprechung *vaipulya*-, die in Mppś V (p. 2301) nur durch den Hinweis auf die Aussprache des Wortes und auf die Titel einiger *vaipulya-sūtras* erklärt wird, auf dasselbe Wort wie *vedalla*- zurückgeht, müßte \**veyalla*- zugrundeliegen. Für die Aufhellung der Bedeutung des Wortes ist das wenig hilfreich.”

meanings of *vedalla* and *vaipulya* from Pāli and Chinese sources (1964: 390~428<sup>57</sup>) and classified them into three groups: (1) Buddhaghosa's explanation, which we shall see below; (2) the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the *\*Satyasiddhiśāstra* (成實論 or *\*Tattvasiddhi*) and the *\*Mahāyānāvātāra* 入大乘論 explain *vaipulya* as extensively detailed scriptures; (3) the Mahāyāna texts, such as the *Da zhidu lun* (*\*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*) and the *\*Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* identify *vaipulya* as *mahāyāna*-scriptures. Maeda concludes that Buddhaghosa's explanation is older than the latter two, with which I agree.

Buddhaghosa (5th century) explains *vedalla* as follows: “All the suttantas requested to be preached in accordance with repeated attainment of wisdom and delight, such as *Cūḷavedalla*, *Mahāvedalla*, *Sammādiṭṭhi*, *Sakkapañha*, *Saṅkhārabhājanīya*, and *Mahāpuṇṇama Suttas* and others should be known as *vedalla*.”<sup>58</sup> What is meant by this is presumably as follows: person A raises a question and B answers it, then A, being pleased with the answer, raises a further question, then B again answers it.<sup>59</sup> Maeda demonstrates that the scriptures which Buddhaghosa referred to as examples of the *vedalla* genre have the following common features:

- (1) It consists of questions and answers between disciples or between the Buddha and a disciple or the god Sakka. The inferior one raises questions and the superior one answers.
- (2) In several of the quoted examples, the term *veyyākaraṇa* occurs, which shows that this genre is a variety of another genre *veyyākaraṇa* (“explanation”).
- (3) The most characteristic feature of *vedalla* and *veyyākaraṇa*, which differentiate them from other genres, is the repeated occurrences of the following set phrase: *sādh' ayye\** (or *bhante* etc.) (B) *ti kho* A (nom.) B (gen.) *bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā* B (acc.) *uttariṃ pañhaṃ apucchi* (“After rejoicing and gladly receiving what B had said, saying ‘Very good! O venerable B’, A raised another question to B.”) In this way, questions and answers continue.
- (4) Contents of questions are varied but mainly concern the principal Buddhist doctrines.

Maeda concludes that, according to Buddhaghosa, one may define *vedalla* as a genre of scriptures consisting of repeated questions and answers, concerning the principal doctrines of Buddhism between an inferior and a superior person, such as the Buddha or one of his great disciples.<sup>60</sup> According to him, scriptures of this type are rare, though the following belong to it: Sn III. 6 *Sabhiyasutta* = *Mahāvastu* III 389~401 = *Fobenxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 T. 3, no. 190, 833a1~837c20; AN II 177~179 = Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, no. 172, T. 1, no. 26, 709a~c = *Yi jing* 意經, T. 1, no. 82. MN, no. 112 *Cabbisodhanasutta* =

<sup>57</sup> A summary in English is found in Maeda 1964: (31)~(32).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Jayawickrama 1962: 26. Sp 28.27ff. *Cūḷavedalla-Mahāvedalla-Sammādiṭṭhi-Sakkapañha-Saṅkhārabhājanīya-Mahāpuṇṇamasuttādayo sabbe pi vedam ca tuṭṭhiṃ ca laddhā laddhāpucchitasuttanta vedallan ti veditabbam*. It should be noted that the titles *Cūḷavedalla* (MN, no. 44) and *Mahāvedalla* (MN, no. 43), whose Chinese parallels have completely different titles, namely *\*Dharmadinnāsūtra* (法樂比丘尼經, MĀ, no. 210) and *\*Mahākauṣṭhila-sūtra* (大拘絺羅經, MĀ, no. 211), respectively (cf. Maeda 1964: 396ff.; Anālayo 2011: 268~286; Chung / Fukita 2011: 176f.; Anālayo 2012: 60f.; Schmithausen 2014: 97, n. 389; Honjō 2014: 74, 657, 889), are most probably later renaming. As we shall see below, *Cūḷavedalla* and *Mahāvedalla* may mean “Smaller Irregular (Scripture)” and “Larger Irregular (Scripture)”, respectively.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Wogihara 1938: 408f.; Maeda 1964: 391; Ui 1965: 161.

<sup>60</sup> Maeda 1964: 395f.

Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, no. 187 is also a variety of this genre.

In the Pāli Canon, except for the name of one of the nine genres of scriptures, the word *vedalla* rarely occurs, which makes it more difficult to define its meaning or etymology. The sole exception is the form *vedalla-kathā*, which occurs in the following description concerning the future danger, which Buddhism might encounter: AN III 107.1~7<sup>61</sup>:

“Again, in the future there will be bhikkhus who are undeveloped in body, virtuous behavior, mind, and wisdom. While engaged in talk pertaining to Dhamma, in questions-and-answers, they will slide down into a dark Dhamma but will not recognize it. Thus, bhikkhus, through corruption of the Dhamma comes corruption of the discipline, and from corruption of the discipline comes corruption of the Dhamma. This is the third future peril as yet unarisen that will arise in the future.

You should recognize it and make an effort to abandon it.” (AN[tr] 714)

This description has been investigated already by Maeda (1964: 416f.) and Skilling (2013: 87f.). I agree with the latter’s argument that this description “could refer to delusions arising from unprincipled speculations about Abhidhamma or Vedalla – a warning against, or a reaction to, excessive ontological or metaphysical speculations or currents of thought or practice that we would eventually know as Mahāyāna.” Here, *vedalla* is used apparently in a negative meaning.<sup>62</sup> In the *Anguttara Nikāya*, immediately after the above-quoted description, the following danger is described: AN III 107.14~22.<sup>63</sup>

“When those discourses spoken by the Tathagata are being recited that are deep, deep in meaning, world-transcending, connected with emptiness, they will not want to listen to them, will not lend an ear to them, or apply their minds to understand them; they will not think those teachings should be studied and learned. But when those discourses are being recited that are mere poetry composed by poets, beautiful in words and phrases, created by outsiders, spoken by disciples, they will want to listen to them, lend an ear to them, and apply their minds to understand them; they will think those teachings should be studied and learned.” (AN[tr] 714)

The phrases “poetry composed by poets”, “beautiful in words and phrases” are stock phrases used to show abuse towards Mahāyāna texts<sup>64</sup>. Also, there are Mahāyāna scriptures preached

<sup>61</sup> *puna ca param bhikkhave bhavissanti bhikkhū anāgatam addhānaṃ abhāvitakāyā abhāvitasīlā abhāvitacittā abhāvitapaññā. te abhāvitakāyā samānā abhāvitasīlā abhāvitacittā abhāvitapaññā abhidhammakatham vedallakatham kathentā kaṇhadhammaṃ okkamamānā na bujjhissanti. iti kho bhikkhave dhammasandosā vinayasandosā, vinayasandosā dhammasandosā. idaṃ bhikkhave tatiyaṃ anāgatabhayaṃ etarahi asamuppannaṃ āyatiṃ samuppajjissati. taṃ vo paṭibujjhitabbaṃ, paṭibujjhitvā ca tassa pahānāya vāyamiṭabbaṃ.*

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Th-a III 85.8~11, where these sentences are quoted in order to explain the word *dummati* (“ignorant”).

<sup>63</sup> *ye te suttantā tathāgatabhāsītā gambhīrā gambhīratthā lokuttarā suññatappaṭisaṃyuttā, tesu bhaññamānesu na sussusissanti, na sotaṃ odahissanti, na aññācittaṃ upaṭṭhapessanti, na ca te dhamme uggahetabbaṃ pariyāpuṇitabbaṃ maññissanti. ye pana te suttantā kavikatā kāveyyā cittaṃkharā cittavyañjanā bāhirakā sāvakabhāsītā, tesu bhaññamānesu sussusissanti, sotaṃ odahissanti, aññācittaṃ upaṭṭhapessanti, te ca dhamme uggahetabbaṃ pariyāpuṇitabbaṃ maññissanti.* Cf. SN II 267.6~18 = AN I 72.25~73.23 = T. 2, no. 99(1258), 345b12~19 (My thanks to Kiyotaka Goshima for this information); Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 760, n. 7.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. AsP(V) 163.29 = AsP(R) 328.16 = AsP(W) 674.25. *yad etat tvayēdānīm śrutuṃ nātad buddhavacanam kavikṛtaṃ kāvyam etat. yat punar idam ahaṃ bhāṣe etad buddhabhāṣitaṃ etad buddhavacanam* (“What you heard just now, that is not the word of the Buddha. It is a composition, invented by a poet. What I am talking to you about, that is the teaching of the Buddha, that is the word of the Buddha.”); RP 28.15. *kavitāni hāva*

by disciples as well.

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvamsa* and the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, the terms *vetulla* / *vetulya-vāda*, *-vādin* and *vetullaka* appear, which were used to condemn the Abhayagirivāsins, who introduced unorthodox doctrines, presumed to be Mahāyāna Buddhism, from the mainland.<sup>65</sup> Also, the words *vedalla-piṭaka* / *vetulla-piṭaka*, the canon of the *vetulla-vādins*, regarded as being heretical (*a-buddhavacana*), appear in the *Samantapāsādikā* and *Sāratthappakāsinī*, both written by Buddhaghosa.<sup>66</sup>

Therefore, the words *vedalla* in *vedalla-kathā* and *vetulla/vetulya* are used thus with a negative meaning.<sup>67</sup>

As we have seen above, the words *\*vevulla* and *fangdeng* (*vaitulya*) started appearing in Chinese translations from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards, while *fangguang* (*vaipulya*) began to be used first in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, the form *vaidalya* appears only in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*<sup>68</sup> by Asaṅga (ca. 395~470 C.E.)<sup>69</sup>, in the reconstructed form of the

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*svamatāni pāpamataih kutīrthkamataiś ca* (“Invented, imagined by the evil-minded and by those who think like heretical teachers [are the Mahāyāna teachings]” [RP(tr) 137]); KN 272.10. *tīrthikā vat’ ime bhikṣū svāni kāvyāni deṣayuh* (“For sure, these monks are heretics! They preach their own compositions!”; cf. Karashima 2001a: 163). Cf. also MacQueen 1981, 1982; Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 760f.

<sup>65</sup> Both the Abhayagiri school and its rival, the Mahāvihāra, received royal support until the time of King Vohārikatissa (214~236 C.E.), who, then, suppressed the *Vetulya*-doctrine. Cf. Dīp 22.43~45, Mhv 36.41, 111f.; Adikaram 1946: 90f.; Lamotte 1976: 202, 590 = 1988: 184, 534; Mori 1999: 12ff. Nonetheless, the Mahāyāna-oriented Abhayagiri school continued to flourish at least until the 11<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Adikaram 1946: 91~95.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Sp 742.31. *Vedaḷha-piṭaka* (*sic*; read *Vedalla-p°*; cf. Sp 232.9); Spk 202.1. *Vetulla-piṭaka* (*v.l.* *Vedalla-p°*); Sv 566.33. *Vedalla-p°*; cf. Adikaram 1946: 98; Collins 1990: 112; von Hinüber 1996: 202.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Skilling 2013: 88.

<sup>68</sup> However, this ascription is doubted: cf. Bayer 2010: 37.

<sup>69</sup> \*Jinaputra’s commentary (*Bhāṣya*) to Asaṅga’s *Abhidharmasamuccaya* quotes the word *vaidalya*: Abhidh-sam-bh 96.3 (§ 118). “*vaipulyam vaidalyam vaitulyam*” *ity ete mahāyānasya paryāyāḥ*. The Chinese translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* reads as follows: T. 31, no. 1605, 686b16~20. 何等方廣? 謂菩薩藏相應言說。如名方廣 (*vaipulya*), 亦名廣破 (*vaidalya*), 亦名無比 (*vaitulya*)。為何義故名爲方廣? 一切有情利益安樂所依處故。宣說廣大甚深法故。為何義故名爲廣破(*vaidalya*)? 以能廣破一切障故。為何義故名爲無比? 無有諸法能比類故。Pradhan’s Sanskrit reconstruction, based on the Chinese translation by Xuanzang, reads as follows: Abhidh-sam 79.1~5. *vaipulyam katamat? bodhisattvapīṭakasamprayuktaṃ bhāṣitam. yad ucyate vaipulyam tad vaidalyam apy ucyate vaitulyam apy ucyate. kimartham vaipulyam ucyate? sarvasattvānām hitasukhādhīṣṭhānataḥ udāragambhīradharmadeśanātaś ca. kimartham ucyate vaidalyam? sarvāvaraṇavidalanataḥ. kimartham ucyate vaitulyam? upamānadharmānām tulanābhāvataḥ* (“What is *vaipulya*? It is a collective designation of the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka*. *Vaipulya* is called *vaidalya* and *vaitulya* as well. Why is it called *vaipulya*? Because [the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka*] is the basis for the benefit and happiness of all sentient beings and also because it is [a collection of] the exalted and profound teachings of the Dharma. Why is it called *vaidalya*? Because it breaks down obstructions. Why is it called *vaitulya*? Because the comparison with any other object is impossible.”). Cf. T. 31, no. 1606, 743c21ff.; Abhidh-sam(E), III 610~611. Similar passages are found also in the *Vyākhyāyukti* by Vasubandhu: Lee 2001a: 160~161, esp. 161.12~21. *ji ltar na ming du chags pas she na / theg pa chen po de nyid la shin tu rgyas pa’i sde zhes bya ba’i ming ‘di chags so // mthungs pa med pa’i sde zhes kyang bya ste / mthungs pa dang bral ba’i phyir ro // sde pa gzhan dag las ni “rnam par ‘joms pa’i gtsug phud kyi sde” dang / “rnam par ‘joms pa chen po’i sde” ste / de ni bag chags dang bcas pa’i nyon mongs pa rnam par ‘joms pa’i phyir ro // yang ‘dir / rgyas pa’i phyir na shin tu rgyas pa’i sde // mthungs bral de phyir mthungs med sde yang yin // lta ba thams cad rnam par ‘joms pa’i phyir // rnam par ‘joms pa’i sder yang shes par bya /* (“How is [mahāyāna] called? Mahāyāna is called *vaipulya*. It is called *vaitulya* as well, because any comparison is impossible. Other schools call it “*\*vaidalyacūḍa*” [?] or “*mahāvaidalya*” [?], because it destroys *kleśas* together with *vāsanā*. [A verse] says: Because it is extensive, it is *vaipulya*. Because there is no comparison, it is *vaitulya*. Because it annihilates all [heretical] views, it should be known as *vaidalya*.”; cf. Lee 2001b71~73; my thanks to Genkai Hayashi for checking the transliteration of the Tibetan text); cf. also the *Nyāyānusāra* by Saṃghabhadra (fl. 5c.): T. 29, no. 1562, 595a22~26. 言方廣 (*vaipulya*)者, 謂以正理廣辯諸



title of the *\*Sarvavaidalyasamgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*, which is apparently a hypersankritism of *vaitulya* as we have seen above, and in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* 1385 *Sarvavaidalya-samgrahaḥ*. Also, as Skilling points out (2013: 90), in the Tibetan translation (early 8<sup>th</sup> century) of the *\*Buddhapiṭaka*, the title *\*mahāyānavaidalyasūtra* appears as one of the epithets of the text together with *\*sūtrāntapracicaya*, *buddhapiṭaka* and *duḥśīlanigraha*. However, in the Chinese translation by Kumārajīva (early 5<sup>th</sup> century), only this epithet is lacking: T. 15, no. 653, 803b17f. 此經名為佛藏 (*buddhapiṭaka*), 亦名發起精進 (?*vīrya*), 亦名降伏破戒 (*duḥśīlanigraha*), 亦名選擇諸法 (*dharmavicaya*?). Therefore, the form *vaidalya* is rather late and rare. There is the *\*Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* by Nāgārjuna (2<sup>nd</sup>~3<sup>rd</sup> centuries), preserved in Tibetan, whose *vaidalya* is nothing to do with the *vaidalya* in question.<sup>70</sup>

The older forms *\*vevulla* / *\*veulla*, *vaitulya* and Old Khotanese, *vittūlya* all indicate that *vaitulya* is a more original form, while *vaipulya* and *vaidalya* are secondary forms.

I assume that the most original form of these variants could have been *\*vedulla*, a Middle Indic form corresponding to *vaitulya* (> *vetulla* ><sup>71</sup> *\*vedulla*<sup>72</sup>), which might mean “not” (*vi*) “of the same kind” (*tulya*, MW, s.v.), i.e. “unusual, irregular”. Scriptures, consisting of repeated questions and answers, not always between the Buddha and another person, but rather between two disciples, might have been labelled as *\*vedulla*, because they were “unusual, irregular”. This form presumably changed in the Pāli tradition to *vedalla*, probably in association with *vidala* (“split; separating”), which also fits the designation of these “irregular” scriptures. On the other hand, in Northwest India, *\*vedulla* was changed probably into *\*veulla* in Gāndhārī, from which the form *\*vevulla*<sup>73</sup> was coined, using *v* as a sandhi-consonant. Much later, when the Middle Indic scriptures were sanskritised, probably from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards, *\*vedulla* or *\*veulla* was also sanskritised to *vaitulya* by those who understood its original meaning. Moreover, later on, probably in the 4<sup>th</sup> century — as the Chinese *fangguang* first appeared in the 5<sup>th</sup> century —, the new form *vaipulya* was coined from Gāndhārī *\*veulla* or *\*vevulla*.

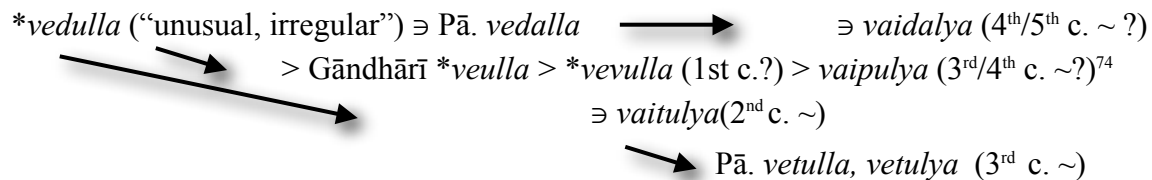
法。以一切法性相眾多，非廣言詞不能辯故。亦名廣破 (*vaidalya*)。由此廣言能破極堅無智闇故。或名無比 (*vaitulya*)。由此廣言理趣幽博餘無比故。有說此廣辯大菩提資糧。(≡ T. 29, no. 1563, 892a2~6).

<sup>70</sup> In the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which was composed presumably more than 150 years after Nāgārjuna, it says: “After the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*, in the future, at Vedālī in the South, there will be a renowned monk, named Nāga, who will destroy the one-sided views as to whether (the *dharmas* are) existent or non-existent, and having proclaimed the unsurpassed Mahāyāna and attained the stage of “Joy”, will be reborn in Sukhāvatī.” (Lāv 286, Ch. 10 [*Sagāthaka*], vs. 164~166; T. 16, no. 671, 569a22~27). Vedālī (a place name) might have been coined from Nāgārjuna’s work *\*Vaidalyaprakaraṇa*. In this connection, it should be mentioned that Pā. *Vepulla*, a name of the highest of the five mountains surrounding Rājagaha, was sanskritised as *Vaipulya* (cf. BHSD, s.v.), *Vaidalya* (cf. BHSD, s.v.) or *Vaidūrya* in the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra* (Daśa-bh[K] 201.8).

<sup>71</sup> For *-t-* > *-d-* in Pāli, cf. Geiger § 38.3. *udāhu* = Skt. *utāho*; *niyyādeti*, *paṭiyādeti* = Skt. *yātayati*; *pasada* = Skt. *prṣata*; *saṃghādisesa* = *saṃgha* + *atiśeṣa*; Lüders 1954 § 96. *uppāda* = Skt. *utpāta*, § 98. *ruda* = *ruta*; von Hinüber 2001: § 189 *surada* = Skt. *surata*; cf. also op. cit. § 177.

<sup>72</sup> Wogihara (1938: 411) assumes that *weitouli* 爲頭離 (T. 25, no. 1509, 246c27; EH. *γjwei dou ljei* > MC. *jwe dōu lje*) was a transliteration of *\*vedulla*, but its original form was presumably *\*vedulya* or *\*vaidulya*. Lamotte incorrectly rendered it as *vaipulya* (Mppś III 1622).

<sup>73</sup> For the change from *\*vedulla* (through *\*veulla*) to *\*vevulla*, cf. Karashima 1994: 19, § 2.3.7. 布和 (pwo- *γwâ*; *\*Pova*) = Skt. Pā. *Potana*, Pā. *Pota*; Pkt. *Poyaṇa*; ib. § 2.3.8. 鳴婆提 (?wo *bwâ diei*; *\*Ovade*) = Skt. *Avadāta*, Pā. *Odāta*; Skt. *Jeta* > Kho. *Jīva*; Skt. *udāra* > Kho. *uvāra*; Skt. *lokadhātu* > Kho. *lovadāva*.



Presumably, those who had composed the new scriptures, bearing the titles \**vevulla*, *vaitulya*, did not consider them negatively but rather regarded them in a positive sense, such as “incomparable, peerless”, as is seen in the definition of the term in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*: “Why is *vaitulya* called so? Because it cannot be compared with comparable things.”<sup>75</sup> The newly-coined form *vaipulya* has more of a positive meaning, namely “full development, abundance, plenty, fullness”. Thus, *vaitulya* and *vaipulya* were used in a positive sense in the freshly-composed scriptures, which were later called *mahāyāna* scriptures. Probably, the composers thought that they were composing unique texts, whose contents and forms were not found in orthodox scriptures. Also, it should be noted that many of the (*mahā*)*vaitulya* scriptures consist of questions and answers between the Buddha and disciples or among his disciples themselves — not only *paripṛcchā*-type scriptures but also the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and the Lotus Sutra contain many series of questions and answers<sup>76</sup>. This feature agrees with Buddhaghosa’s definition of *vedalla*-scriptures.

As we have seen above, many scriptures, which had been entitled *vaitulya*, were later renamed *vaipulya* or *mahāyāna*. Now, in Sanskrit texts and Tibetan translations, most of the so-called *mahāyāna* scriptures are entitled as such, but these titles are the result of later renaming. As we have noted already, the title *dasheng* (= *mahāyāna*) for scriptures first appeared around 400 C.E. — also Kumārajīva interpreted (*mahā*)*vaitulya* as 大乘經 *dashengjing* (“*mahāyāna* scripture”) in 406 C.E. as we have seen above (7). This probably means that the title *mahāyāna* for these scriptures came to be used as late as the 4<sup>th</sup> century in North and/or Northwest India. In this connection, it is significant to quote the following passages from the *Da Zhidu lun*, \**Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, a commentary on the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, in which the genre *vaipulya* among the 12 genres of the Buddha’s teachings is explained in the following way: “‘Expounded scriptures’ (*vaipulya*) is a designation of *mahāyāna*. As immeasurable, countless scriptures such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Scripture of the Six *Pāramitās*, Scripture of the Hand of Flower (\**Padmahasta*; T. 16, no. 657), Scripture of the Lotus, Scripture of the Buddha’s Origin and Cause, Scripture of Cloud, Scripture of Dharma-Cloud, Scripture of Great Cloud etc. were (preached) for the purpose of (people’s) attaining *anuttara samyaksambodhi*, therefore it is called *vaipulya*.”<sup>77</sup> This part of the *Da*

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Gā. *vehulla* (written as *vehula*) < \**veulla* < \**vevulla* < *vaipulya*; Nasim Khan 81.12: /// *aṇataṛa[ha]ṇae* ° *vurdhie vehulae* ° *aśamoṣae* (i.e. \**anantaradhānāya vrddhaye vaipulyāya aśammoṣāya*).

<sup>75</sup> The *Vyākhyāyukti* by Vasubandhu says the same: “*Mahāyāna* is ... called *vaitulya* as well, because the comparison is impossible.” Cf. note 69.

<sup>76</sup> The *Prajñāpāramitā* contains hundreds of questions and answers between the Buddha and Subhūti, the Buddha and Indra and between Subhūti and Śāriputra and so on. Throughout the entire first chapter of the Lotus Sutra, the Buddha remained in meditation, uttering no words. In his meditation, the Buddha manifested miracles. Marvelling at these, Maitreya asked Mañjuśrī about their meaning, which the latter explained.

<sup>77</sup> T. 25, no. 1509, 308a4~8. 廣經者名摩訶衍，所謂《般若波羅蜜經》、《六波羅蜜經》、《華手》(←首)經、《法華經》、《佛本起因緣經》、《雲經》、《法雲經》、《大雲經》如是等無量阿僧祇諸經，

*Zhidu lun* was perhaps composed not by its Indian author but by Kumārajīva himself<sup>78</sup>. Important to note is that by the time of Kumārajīva, both *vaitulya*- and *vaipulya*-scriptures had been regarded as *mahāyāna*-scriptures.

I assume that the earlier composers of the so-called “Mahāyāna” *sūtras* had named their texts \**vevulla* / *vaitulya* / *vaipulya* (cf. Pāli *vedalla*, *vetulla*, *vetulya*, Buddhist Sanskrit *vaidalya*), and only later were these titles changed to *mahāyānasūtra*. There are also some Mahāyāna *sūtras*, which are never labelled as such, for example various texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

## (10) Who composed the *vaitulya*-scriptures?

### — The Mahāsāṃghikas and *vaitulya*- /*vaipulya*- /*mahāyāna*-scriptures

In the collection of *vaitulya*-scriptures, namely the *Da Fangdeng Daji jing* 大方等大集經 (\**Mahāvaitulya-Mahāsannipāta*; T. 13, no. 397), which was mainly translated by Dharmakṣema between 414~426 C.E. and Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍 in 585 C.E., and compiled as one collection by Sengjiu 僧就 in 586 C.E, the term *dasheng* 大乘 (*mahāyāna*) occurs 198 times and is praised greatly. Also, some texts in this collection are called *mahāyāna*-scriptures (*dasheng jing* 大乘經)<sup>79</sup>, which are apparently *vaitulya*-cum-*mahāyāna*-scriptures. In this collection, it is said that the crime of those who revile the *vaitulya*-scriptures is equal to “the five rebellious crimes” (namely, killing one’s mother or father, or a saint, causing the Buddha’s body to bleed, and causing dissension in the Buddhist order)<sup>80</sup>. It is thus apparent that there were antagonists who did not accept these scriptures as the Buddha’s teachings.

It is very significant that in the 10<sup>th</sup> scripture of the \**Mahāvaitulya-Mahāsannipāta*, namely the *Xukongmu fen* 虛空目分, translated by Dharmakṣema, we find the following important sentences, which reveal the relationship between this *vaitulya*-scripture and a particular school:

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, there will be disciples, who will receive, hold, copy, read and recite the twelve categories of the Tathāgata’s teachings, interpret their meanings in a distorted way and proclaim them wrongly. By explaining (the teachings) in a distorted way, they will conceal the basket of the Dharma. Because they conceal (*√gup*) the Dharma, therefore they will be called Dharmagupta(ka)s.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, read, recite and copy the twelve categories of the Tathāgata’s teachings. They will also read, recite, copy and speak about non-Buddhist texts (外典), receive (the

為得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提故說“毘佛略”(呂夜反). In the second chapter of his *Vyākhyāyukti*, Vasubandhu also maintains that the genre *vaipulya* amongst the 12 genres of the Buddha’s teachings is a designation of *mahāyāna*. Cf. Lee 2001a: 159~161; 2001b: 69~73.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Hikata 1958: LVf. I doubt that this text was composed by the author of the *Madhyamakaśāstra*. On this, see below p. 142.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. No. 397-14: 日藏分 alias 大乘大方等日藏經 and No. 394-16. 須彌藏分 alias 大乘大集經須彌藏分 (cf. T. 55, no. 2154, 543c14, 681b24, 702b17) both trans. by Narendrayaśa in 585 C.E. Cf. also T. 13, no. 397, 64c17. 何況取是大乘經典 (“this *mahāyāna*-scripture”)一品二品; 212c13. 是大乘經 (“this *mahāyāna*-scripture”)不從他聞而能分別.

<sup>80</sup> T. 13, no. 397, 59a14. 見有誹謗方等經者不與同止; 218c5. 惟除五逆謗方等經毀訾聖人; 220a24f. 除五逆罪謗方等經毀訾聖人犯四重禁; 243c11. 若有衆生造作五逆謗方等經; cf. also *ib.* 219a5, 220b1.

doctrine) concerning the existence of (the *dharmas*) of the three time periods (past, present and future) and of internal and external (*dharmas*). They will refute heretics, be good at arguing, maintain that all kinds of beings are able to receive the precepts. They will be able to answer (*√vad*) correctly all (*sarva*) intricate questions. Therefore, they will be called the Sarvāstivādins.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, copy, read and recite the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. They will say that there is no self (*ātman* or *pudgala*) nor receiver. Like corpses, (they) will change (轉) *kleśas*. Therefore, they will be called the Kāśyapīyas.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, read, recite and copy the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. They will not admit (? 作) to the features of earth, features of water and fire, features of sky and recognition. Therefore, they will be called the Mahīśāsakas.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, read, recite and copy the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. Like children (*putra*), they will all say that self (*ātman* or *pudgala*) exists but will not say anything about the feature of emptiness. Therefore, they will be called the Vātsīputrīyas.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, read, recite and copy the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. They will read all the five categories of scriptures extensively. Therefore, they will be called the Mahāsāṃghikas.<sup>81</sup>

Thus, the description concerning the Mahāsāṃghikas appears at the end and it is expressed in a positive way, while other schools are described negatively. We may assume that the composer of this *vaitulya*-scripture belonged to the school of the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The close relationship between the Mahāsāṃghikas and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *Samādhirājasūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāsūtra* and *Daśabhūmikasūtra* has been already pointed out.<sup>82</sup> Among them, the *Prajñāpāramitā* and

<sup>81</sup> T. 13, no. 397, Dhk. 159a14ff. 橋陳如！我涅槃後，有諸弟子，受持如來十二部經，書寫、讀誦，顛倒解義，顛倒宣說。以倒解說，覆隱法藏。以覆法故，名曇摩毘多(Dharmaguptaka)。橋陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子受持如來十二部經，讀誦、書寫。而復讀誦、書、說外典，受有三世及以內外。破壞外道，善解論義，說一切性悉得受戒。凡所問難悉能答對，是故名為薩婆帝婆(Sarvāstivādin)。橋陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子受持如來十二部經，書寫讀誦。說無有我及以受者，轉諸煩惱，猶如死屍。是故名為迦葉毘部(Kāśyapīya)。橋陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子受持如來十二部經，讀誦書寫，不作地相、水、火、風相、虛空、識相，是故名為彌沙塞部(Mahīśāsaka)。橋陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子，受持如來十二部經，讀誦書寫，皆說有我，不說空相，猶如小兒。是故名為婆嗟富羅(Vātsīputrīya)。橋陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子受持如來十二部經，讀誦書寫，廣博遍覽五部經書，是故名為摩訶僧祇(Mahāsāṃghika)。These sentences are quoted in later Chinese texts repeatedly; e.g. T. 50, no. 2059 (*Gaosengzhuān* 高僧傳), 403a22ff.; T. 54, no. 2131 (*Fānyī Míngyì jī* 翻譯名義集), 1113a29ff.; T. 55, no. 2145 (*Chūsanzāngjī jī* 出三藏記集), 20a22f., b23f., c23f., 21a12f., b3f. etc.

<sup>82</sup> Concerning the Mahāsāṃghikas' close association with the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, see Kajiyama 1976: 103f. = 2012: 85f.; Conze 1978: 1f.; Sander 2000: 100; Watanabe 1995: 46f., 165f., 170f.; *ibid.* 2009: 20f.; Guang Xing 2005: 65~66; Nishimura 2006; Skilling 2013b; Karashima 2012: III, 560~561 = 2014: 85~86; with the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, see Iwai 2014: 34~39; with the *Samādhirājasūtra*, see Skilling 2013a; with the *Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāsūtra*, see Shimoda 1997: 254~256, 290, 381, 386~387, Hodge 2006. Kuno (1930: esp. 64, 70f., 130f.) and others assume that the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* is based on the *Daśabhūmika* in the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu I 63~193). In his *Prajñāpradīpa-ṭīkā*, Avalokitavratā (fl. 700 C.E. ca.) says that these two texts

the Lotus Sutra are listed as *vaipulya*-scriptures in the *Da Zhidu lun* as we have seen above. The Lotus Sutra calls itself *vaitulya* / *vaipulya* in the text. Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍, the translator of the latter half of the collection of *vaitulya*-scriptures, namely the *Da Fangdeng Daji jing* (\**Mahāvaitulya-Mahāsannipāta*), translated the *Samādhirājasūtra* in 557 C.E. The Chinese translation is entitled *Yuedeng Sanmei jing* 月燈三昧經, which is called the *Da Fangdeng Daji Yuedeng jing* 大方等大集月燈經 (\**Mahāvaitulya-Mahāsannipāta-Candradīpa-sūtra*) as well. Hence, this scripture is one of the *vaitulya*-scriptures.

In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and *Samādhirājasūtra*, the notion of *pudgala* and the existence of all dharmas in the past, present and future are criticised explicitly. According to various sources, the coexistence of multiple *buddhas* at the same time<sup>83</sup>, the Buddha's preaching in one voice<sup>84</sup> and preaching by magically-produced *buddhas*<sup>85</sup> were denounced by both the Sthaviravādins and Sarvāstivādins, while the Mahāsāṃghikas affirmed them. In fact, the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* says that those who affirmed preaching by the magically-produced Buddha are called the *Vetulyaka* / *Vetullaka*.<sup>86</sup> However, coexistence of plural *buddhas*, preaching in one voice<sup>87</sup>, and preaching by magically-produced *buddhas* are common features of Mahāyāna scriptures.<sup>88</sup>

The close relationship between the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Mahāyāna is illustrated by the fact that Faxian 法顯 copied a manuscript of the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* in a Mahāyāna monastery called Devarāja (Tianwang Jingshe 天王精舍), where Mahāyāna monks were living. As Faxian wrote, this Vinaya manuscript was brought from Jetavana to Pāṭaliputra in order to re-establish the order of the Buddhist community there. From this, we can conclude that the Mahāyāna monks in this monastery belonged to the Mahāsāṃghika school and that the said Devarāja monastery was thus a Mahāsāṃghika-cum-Mahāyāna one.<sup>89</sup>

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are related: "... the Mahāyāna is included in the *Mahāvastu* of the *Mahāsāṃghika Piṭaka*, because it contains characteristically [Mahāyāna material] like the "Sūtra on the Ten Stages" (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra*) and the Perfections (*pāramitā*). ..." (quoted from Skilling 2013b: 202).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Bareau 1955: 60f. (16), 238 (201).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. the following verses found in the *Mahāvastu*, an *Avadāna* text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins: Mvu I 171.12~15 = Mvu(tr) I 135: "The sweet voice of the Daśabala pervades a whole assembly. It makes a whole assembly understand, even though *naṃyutas* of worlds are gathered there. Though it speak in one language, this utterance becomes current everywhere, even in the barbaric assemblies of the Scythians, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Ramaṭhas, the Persians, and the Daradas." Cf. Bareau 1955: 58(4), 145(55). This topic is discussed, in detail, in Iwagami 2011: 119~125.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Kv 560f.

<sup>86</sup> See Kv-a(M) 171.24. *Vetulyaka*; Kv-a(J) 173.2. *Vetullaka*.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Vkn 1.10, v. 10. *ekāṃ ca vācaṃ bhagavān pramuñcase nānārutaṃ ca pariśad vijānati / yathāsvakaṃ cārtha vijānate jano jinasya āveṇikabuddhalakṣaṇam* ||; Samādh(D) I 198.7~10. *ekasvarā tu tava lokahitā nānādhimukti svaru niścarati / ekaiku manyi mama bhāṣi jino [brūhi smitaṃ ta kṛ]tu kasya kṛte* || (≡ Prasp 368.2f.); for further occurrences, cf. Iwagami 2011: 111~141.

<sup>88</sup> In the *Da Zhidu lun*, the author says that the scripture of the *Prajñāpāramitā* on which he comments is only a tiny piece of the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture, consisting of thousands of billions of verses, preserved in the palaces of the kings of *nāgas* and *asuras* and gods. As the Buddha not only himself preached but also produced countless bodies in innumerable worlds by his supernatural powers, his teachings are immeasurable. 摩訶衍甚多無量無限，如此中《般若波羅蜜品》，有二萬二千偈；《大般若品》，有十萬偈；諸龍王、阿修羅王、諸天宮中，有千億萬偈等。所以者何？此諸天、龍、神壽命長久，識念力強故。今此世人，壽命短促，識念力薄，《小般若波羅蜜品》尚不能讀，何況多者！諸餘大菩薩所知般若波羅蜜，無量無限。何以故？佛非但一身所說，無量世中或變化作無數身，是故所說無量。(756a29~b6).

<sup>89</sup> T. 22, no. 1425, 548a29~b25; T. 51, no. 2085, 864b16~23; cf. Abhis III 567~574.

It is also significant that Faxian received a copy of the *Vaitulya-mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (i.e. the *Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāsūtra*) from a lay follower of this monastery.<sup>90</sup>

The close relationship between the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Mahāyāna in Pāṭaliputra is demonstrated also by the following description in Xuanchang (玄暢; 416~484 C.E.)'s biography of Harivarman (ca. 250~350 C.E.), the author of *\*Satyasiddhiśāstra* (or *\*Tattvasiddhi*; Chengshilun 成實論; T. 32, no. 1646): “At that time, monks of the Mahāsāṃghikas, who were dwelling in Pāṭaliputra, all followed the Mahāyāna, considering it as the basis of the five schools (五部; *pañca nikāyāḥ*).”<sup>91</sup>

## (11) Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Madhyamikas, Yogācāras and Sarvāstivādins

### (11.1) Texts which quote Mahāyāna scriptures

To my surprise, throughout the whole Abhidharma section of the Taishō Edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, vols. 26~29, 3,644 pages in all, neither the *Prajñāpāramitā* as the name of a scripture nor the Lotus Sutra, *Avatamsakasūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha* or any Mahāyāna scripture is referred to. Most probably, this means that the Abhidharmists of the Sarvāstivādins and Dharmaguptakas<sup>92</sup> did not read (or dared not quote) Mahāyāna scriptures. On the other hand, the authors of the texts, in which Mahāyāna scriptures are quoted, seem to have been monks, belonging to the Mahāsāṃghikas or at least related to this school.

The relationship between the Pūrvaśailas, a sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas, and Nāgārjuna has been pointed out already.<sup>93</sup> I assume also that he belonged to the Mahāsāṃghikas for the following reasons:

(1) Nāgārjuna seems to have been active in the Andhaka/Āndhraka region, where the Andhaka school, which was a sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas, was thriving.<sup>94</sup> From Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (meaning “Nāgārjuna Hill”), which was named after Nāgārjuna, 11 inscriptions, dating back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E., of the Aparāśailas, Pūrvaśailas and Bahuśrutīyas, all of which were sub-schools of the Mahāsāṃghikas, were discovered, apart from one inscription of the Mahīśāsakas and two of the Vibhajyavādin.<sup>95</sup> It is clear that the Mahāsāṃghikas school and its sub-schools were popular there at that time.

(2) The *\*Lokānuvartanā-sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema (fl. ca. 170~190 CE), entitled *Neicang Baibao jing* 內藏百寶經 (T. 17, no. 807) and is called a *mahāyānasūtra* in the Tibetan translation.<sup>96</sup> As has been pointed out already<sup>97</sup>, a part of

<sup>90</sup> T. 51, no. 2085, 864b27; T. 55, no. 2145, 60b2~11; cf. Abhis III 570~572.

<sup>91</sup> T. 55, no. 2145, 79a12f. 時有僧祇部僧住巴連弗邑，並遵奉大乘。云是五部之本。

<sup>92</sup> Bareau (1950) and Mizuno (1966 = 1996: 319~340) assume that T. 28, no. 1548, the *Shelifu Apitanlun* 舍利弗阿毘曇論 (*\*Śāriputrābhidharma*) is a Dharmaguptaka text. I agree with their assumption on the basis of my own research of this text in comparison with the Chinese translation of the *Daśottarasūtra* in the *Dīrghāgama* of the same school (cf. Karashima 2000: 5, 157~215).

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Walser 2005: 88: “... Nāgārjuna probably lived in a Pūrvaśaila, Aparāśaila, or Caityaka monastery during the time he wrote the *Ratnāvalī*.” Mitrikeski (2009) has demonstrated also the relationship between Nāgārjuna and the Pūrvaśaila school. Cf. also Mabbett 1998.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Tsukamoto 1980: 461~462.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Tsukamoto 1980: 500~502; IBInsc I 313~352.

<sup>96</sup> Tib(Pk) 866, Tib(D) 200. *'phags pa 'Jig rten gyi rjes su 'thun par 'jug pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (*\*ārya-Lokānuvartana nāma mahāyānasūtra*).

<sup>97</sup> Takahara 1969; Shizutani 1974: 282~283, 315~318; Harrison 1982, 1995; Shimoda 1997: 254~256; Guang Xing 2006; Mitrikeski 2009: 155~157.

this scripture corresponds well to a portion of the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu I 167.15~170.10), an *Avadāna* text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, another sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas. Therefore, it is quite probable that the *\*Lokānuvartanā-sūtra* was composed by somebody, belonging to the Mahāsāṃghika school or its sub-school. As Harrison has pointed out, verses 19 and 20 of Nāgārjuna's *Nirāupamyastava* are based on this scripture.<sup>98</sup> From this, we may assume that Nāgārjuna was well versed in texts of this particular school.

In the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, which is ascribed to Nāgārjuna, there are many quotations from various Mahāyāna scriptures,<sup>99</sup> though this is now doubted.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, in the *Da zhidu lun* (*\*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*; hereafter Mppś), a commentary on the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, ascribed also to Nāgārjuna and preserved only in a Chinese translation by Kumārajīva, not only the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture but also a variety of Mahāyāna scriptures are quoted frequently<sup>101</sup> — the Lotus Sutra is quoted 22 times! However, it is doubtful that this text was composed by the same Nāgārjuna (the author of the *Madhyamakāśāstra*), whom we are discussing.<sup>102</sup> This text is based apparently on the Sarvāstivādin tradition<sup>103</sup>, therefore, I agree with Étienne Lamotte's assumption that this work was composed at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century by a North Indian monk of the Sarvāstivāda school, who converted to the Mahāyāna Buddhism (as did Vasubandhu, as we shall see later).<sup>104</sup> However, as has been pointed out already<sup>105</sup>, quite a few parts of the text were added by the translator, Kumārajīva, or his disciples in China.

In his *Prasannapadā*, *Madhyamakāvatāra* and the *Śūnyatāsaptatiṣṭhi*, Candrakīrti (ca. 570~650 or ca. 560~640 C.E.) quotes many Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *Samādhirājasūtra*, *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* etc.<sup>106</sup> In these texts, he also quotes verses from the above-mentioned *Lokānuvartanā-sūtra*.<sup>107</sup> In addition to this, in his *Madhyamakāvatāra*, he quotes the same verses, referring to them as “verses of the Pūrvaśailas” (MAv 134.1), again a sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas, while in his *Prasannapadā*, he quotes the same verses, saying they are from the *Āgama(s)* (Prasp 548.5. *āgamasūtreṣu*). In his works, he criticised the Vijñānavāda, Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika, all of which seem to have been related to the Sarvāstivāda school, and the Sammitīyas.<sup>108</sup> From these facts, one may assume that Candrakīrti belonged to the Mahāsāṃghika school.

<sup>98</sup> Tucci 1932: 318, vs. 19~20. Cf. Harrison 1982: 224; Mitrikeski 2009: 156~157.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Pāsādika 1989; Ichishima 1990: 16(271)~24(263).

<sup>100</sup> Ichishima 2000: 289; Harrison 2007.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Mppś III, pp. XXXII~XXXVII.

<sup>102</sup> Except for the *Ratnāvalī*, Nāgārjuna hardly used the word *mahāyāna*, cf. Warder 1973; Fronsdaal 1998: 96, n. 7. The ascription of the *Ratnāvalī* to Nāgārjuna, in which the term *mahāyāna* frequently occurs, is doubted by some scholars (Fronsdaal *loc. cit.*), while Walser defends its authorship; cf. Walser 2005: 271ff.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Mppś III, pp. XVII~XVIII.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Mppś III, pp. V~L, esp. pp. XIV, L. I do not agree with Yinshun (1990), who assumes that this text was composed by Nāgārjuna of the Mahāsāṃghika school, nor with Junshō Katō, who maintains that Mppś is a composition by Kumārajīva. Cf. also Takeda 2005: 105~107, 178~198.

<sup>105</sup> Hikata 1958: LII~LXXV.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Prasp 625~629; MAv(tr.J) 6~7; Śsv(tr.G) 286~301.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Harrison 1982: 225~227; Shimoda 1997: 254~255; Śsv(tr.G) 41, 130, n. 268.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. YŚV(tr.F) 224, n. 407.

In his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Śāntideva (fl. 685~763<sup>109</sup>) quotes a variety of Mahāyāna scriptures as well, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* etc.<sup>110</sup> Moreover, he is said to have worshipped Mañjuśrī Bodhisatva.<sup>111</sup> In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, a Vinaya text, *Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka* by name, is quoted without referring to the name of its school (Śikṣ 154:17), and the cited sentences agree with those in the Vinaya text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins.<sup>112</sup> Probably, he did not feel the necessity of referring to the school's name, because it was of his own school. On the other hand, when he quotes the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda school, he refers to the school's name, e.g. “*Sarvāstivādin*”, “*Sarvāstivādaka*”. Thus, one may assume that he was a monk of the Mahāsāṃghikas or its sub-school.<sup>113</sup>

Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (also known as Atiśa; 982~1054 C.E.) was born in Southeast Bengal, ordained into the Mahāsāṃghika tradition at the age of 28 and went to Gugé in West Tibet where he died. In his *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya*, he quotes 83 sorts of scriptures, including many Mahāyāna ones<sup>114</sup>.

Thus, Nāgārjuna, Candrakīrti, Śāntideva and Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, who quote Mahāyāna scriptures in their texts, were probably monks of the Mahāsāṃghika tradition.

### (11.2) Vasubandhu —a *vaitulika* and “dropout” from the Sarvāstivāda

However, some may say that the famous Mahāyanist, Vasubandhu (ca. 350~430 or 400~480 C.E.), was a Sarvāstivāda monk, who is said to have been ordained into the Sarvāstivāda tradition, studied the Abhidharma philosophy of that school and composed the *Abhidharmakośa*, a summary of the tenets of that school, and its auto-commentary, namely the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*. Later, he converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism under the influence of his elder brother, Asaṅga, and wrote commentaries on the Mahāyāna scriptures.

There is another Abhidharma text, namely the *Abhidharmadīpa* by Dīpakāra (ca. 450~550 C.E.), an orthodox Sarvāstivādin, which follows Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* in its structure. In this text, the Vaitulikas and Vasubandhu are criticised harshly.

“The Sarvāstivādins think that the three times (of the present, past, and future) exist, three sorts of unchangeable things. However, the Vibhāvavādins and the Dārṣṭāntikas admit that only the present exists. The Vaitulikas, who are illogical *śūnyatāvādins*, think that nothing exists. The Pudgalavādins, who proclaim the existence of the indeterminate, also assert that *pudgala* exists as substance. ... Only the Sarvāstivādins, conforming to reasoning and the *Āgamas*, are correct. The Dārṣṭāntikas, Vaitulikas and Pudgalavādins, not conforming to reasoning or the *Āgamas*, are erroneous philosophers.” (Abhidh-d 257.4~258.8)

“The Vaitulikas fancy that what originates in dependence (on something else), does not exist, since its self-nature (is wanting). ... (They fancy): ‘Because the self-nature is

<sup>109</sup> Bca(tr) viii.

<sup>110</sup> Śikṣ 367~371.

<sup>111</sup> Bca(tr) viii, 191.

<sup>112</sup> Ishida 1993: 2.

<sup>113</sup> Enomoto 2004: 674, n. 51.

<sup>114</sup> According to Mochizuki (2013: 729f.), in the *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya*, 83 different scriptures are quoted at 273 places, while in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 88 are quoted at 360 places. However, the quoted sentences do not overlap. Therefore, Atiśa did not take these quotations from the pre-existing *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.



wanting, all *dharma*s are void of self (*nir-ātman*) like a wheel of fire.” (Abhidh-d 276.5~11)

“(As Vasubandhu maintains,) if the Lord, by the power of meditation, would, at will, produce a new sentient being, who is equipped with consciousness and faculties, or would prolong his (i.e. the Lord’s) own life, which had not been prolonged before, by means of his previous *karman* and the power of *yoga*, then, the Buddha, the Lord would become (the same as) Nārāyaṇa (= Viṣṇu), because (it would mean that) he would have produced a completely new sentient being magically. Moreover, (Vasubandhu maintains,) he (i.e. the Buddha), out of compassion, would never enter *parinirvāṇa*, (and thus) he would eliminate the dangers of confusion of his teachings. These views should be ignored, because this "Venerable" (bhadanta, i.e. Vasubandhu) is trying to lead (people) towards the texts of the Vaitulikas (*vaitulikaśāstra*).” (Abhidh-d 101.3~8<sup>115</sup>)

What the Vaitulikas, who were labelled “illogical *śūnyatāvādins*”, are said to have maintained, is none other than what the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Samādhiraśasūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāsūtra* state. Thus, it is clear that the so-called Mahāyāna texts were completely irreconcilable with the orthodox Sarvāstivādins.

Moreover, in the *Abhidharmadīpa*, Vasubandhu, who converted from the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma standpoint to Mahāyāna Buddhism, is called disdainfully “a *vaitulika*, who dropped out of the Sarvāstivāda (school)” (*Sarvāstivāda-vibhiraṣṭi-vaitulika*).<sup>116</sup>

If Mahāyāna Buddhism had originated from the Sarvāstivāda school, the *Abhidharmadīpa* would not have criticised the Vaitulikas or Vasubandhu so harshly. It is, thus, clear that the Sarvāstivāda school was irreconcilable with Mahāyāna Buddhism, which originated from the Mahāsāṃghika school, which was antagonistic towards the Sarvāstivāda school. Therefore, Vasubandhu had to “convert” to Mahāyāna Buddhism, which was considered as “dropping out”.

### (11.3) The Sarvāstivādins did not accept Mahāyāna Buddhism

The following facts also indicate that the Sarvāstivāda school originally did not accept Mahāyāna Buddhism.

(1) From several places on the northern route of the Silk Road, such as in Qizil, Kucha and Turfan, more than ten thousand Sanskrit fragments have been discovered, now preserved in Berlin, London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Beijing etc. Amongst them, there are more than one thousand fragments of Vinaya texts, which belong to the Sarvāstivādins or the so-called Mūlasarvāstivādins apart from a few exceptions. This reflects the historical fact that the Sarvāstivāda tradition was predominant in the regions along the northern edge of the Tarim Basin. Apart from these Vinaya fragments, there are many thousands of fragments of canonical *sūtras*, *Avadānas* and Abhidharma texts of so-called Nikāya-Buddhism, which,

<sup>115</sup> *tathāpi tu yuktamaduttaram ucyate. yadi bhagavān samādhibalena svecchayā (')pūrvaṃ sattvaṃ savijñānakam sendriyam utpādayet, svātmano vā jīvitam anākṣiptaṃ prākṣarmabhir yogabalenākṣipet, tato buddho bhagavān Nārāyaṇīkṛtaḥ syāt apūrvasattvanirmāṇāt. sa ca kāruṇikatvān n' eva parinirvāyāt, śāsanaṃ sambhedasaṃdehāś ca cchindyāt. tasmād Vaitulikaśāstrapraveśadvāram ārabdham tena bhadantenēty adhyupekṣyam etat.* Cf. Jaini 1958a: 550f. = 2001: 196; Mitomo 2007: 397.

<sup>116</sup> Abhidh-d 282.1. *Sarvāstivāda-vibhiraṣṭi vaituliko*; cf. Jaini 1958: 52f. = 2001: 187f.; Mitomo 2007: 208, 615. According to Mitomo 2007: 615, n. 215, the manuscript reads “*vāda-vibhiraṣṭi-vaituliko*”.

most probably, belong mainly to the above-mentioned tradition. Compared to the huge number of these fragments of Nikāya-Buddhist texts, there are much fewer than one hundred fragments of Mahāyāna scriptures, amongst which quite a few are written in South Turkestan Brāhmī and are assumed to have been brought from Khotan.<sup>117</sup> If Mahāyāna Buddhism had originated from the Sarvāstivāda tradition or this school had accepted Mahāyāna Buddhism, many more Mahāyāna fragments would have been expected.<sup>118</sup> Probably, this fact reflects that the Sarvāstivāda school did not accept Mahāyāna Buddhism until much later in those peripheral regions of Nikāya-Buddhism — it is well known that peripheral areas are often more conservative than the centre.

(2) Moreover, themes of the mural paintings of the above-mentioned regions, such as Kizil and Bezeklik, are of previous *buddhas*, Śākyamuni Buddha and Maitreya, as the next Buddha of the future, as well as the *Jātaka* stories of Śākyamuni Buddha. There are no images of the manifestation of multiple *buddhas* as seen in Gandhāra nor two Buddhas' sitting together beside a *stūpa* as described in the Lotus Sutra and depicted in Gilgit<sup>119</sup>. The Mahāsāṃghikas held the notion of the existence of many contemporaneous *buddhas* of the ten directions.<sup>120</sup> They also held that the Buddha could produce multiple physical manifestations (*nirmāṇakāya*) in order to preach to many sentient beings. Those notions were viewed as heretical by the Sarvāstivādins and other Sthaviravāda schools. However, multiple *buddhas* of the ten directions and magically-manifested *buddhas*, who preach to people, are commonly depicted in Mahāyāna scriptures. The lack of such depictions in Northern Silk Road paintings indicates that the dominant Sarvāstivādins, there, did not accept Mahāyāna Buddhist views, which originated from their antagonists, the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The notion and worship of contemporaneous *buddhas* of other worlds, such as Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Bhaiṣajyaguru were possible in the tenets of the Mahāsāṃghikas, while they were irreconcilable with those of the Sarvāstivādins. On the other hand, the notions of the next Buddha, namely Maitreya, and also those, becoming future *buddhas*, though not simultaneously but one after another (such as the one thousand *buddhas* in the “Blessed Aeon” [*Bhadrakalpa*]), do not contradict the Sarvāstivāda doctrines. I assume, then, that the worship of Buddha Maitreya and the wish to meet him, were popular particularly amongst the followers of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism, because the worship of Amitābha etc. in other Buddha worlds was unacceptable in its tenets. Needless to say, the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mahāyāna Buddhists could and did worship both the future and contemporaneous *buddhas*. This may

<sup>117</sup> Cf. BLSF II 29f.; Wille 2014, 2014a; Hartmann / Wille 2014, 2014a. I should like to thank Klaus Wille for providing me with this information.

<sup>118</sup> In contrast to this feature of Sanskrit fragments discovered in the Northern Silk Road, the situation of Buddhist manuscripts and fragments discovered in Bamiyan, Afghanistan is completely different. The Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang reported the existence of monasteries of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda school there. The manuscripts and fragments discovered in the last two decades in Bamiyan and now located in the Schøyen Collection in Norway include a large number of Mahāyāna scriptures as well as Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya texts. Some fragments are in Gāndhārī written in Kharoṣṭhī script, dating 2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries, while others are in Sanskrit written in Brāhmī scripts, dating 2<sup>nd</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries. The same scripts were used for writing Mahāyāna scriptures and the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya texts. These facts indicate the close relationship between Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Mahāsāṃghika school. Cf. Braarvig 2014.

<sup>119</sup> Hauptmann 2008: 353, 357.

<sup>120</sup> Guang 2005: 57 with further references.

explain why Maitreya was so popular in the literature and arts of the Northern Silk Road as well as in the Yogācāra school, which was none other than the result of the amalgamation of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma and Mahāyāna thought, which was founded by the above-mentioned Vasubandhu and his elder brother Asaṅga, who is said to have received teachings from Bodhisatva Maitreya in Tuṣita Heaven<sup>121</sup> — hence, some works of the Yogācāra school are ascribed to a mythical author named Maitreya. Also, one should not forget that, though these two brothers had converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism, they remained Sarvāstivādin monks all their lives, because they had been ordained into that school, held its Vinaya rules and had to recite the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, belonging to this school, every fortnight at the *Poṣadha* ceremony — there was no Mahāyāna *Prātimokṣasūtra* nor a monk who was ordained as a Mahāyāna monk in India. This is often misunderstood by modern scholars. It is also pointed out that the Yogācāra school masters, who were also Sarvāstivādin monks, in Gandhāra, e.g. Saṃgharakṣa, Vasumitra etc., wished to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven in order to meet Bodhisatva Maitreya and so finally become *buddhas* after him.<sup>122</sup>

Another illustrative example of the conversion from Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma to Mahāyāna thought is Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什 350~409 or 344~413 C.E.; a contemporary of Vasubandhu). According to the *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 (T. 55, no. 2145, 100b~c), he studied the *Āgamas* of the Sarvāstivāda school in Kashmir and the *Ekottarāgama* and Abhidharma texts of the same school in Kashgar. Having returned to Kucha and reaching the age of 20, he was fully ordained and received the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins from Vimalākṣa from Kashmir. Around this time, he met Sūryasoma and learned Mahāyāna Buddhism from him and, being amazed at its thought, he further read the *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* and the *Śataśāstra*. He found a manuscript of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* at New Temple in Kucha but while reading it, Māra came and made the letters disappear. Knowing it was the action of Māra, he held fast to his resolve, then Māra left him and the letters reappeared. Again, while Kumārajīva was reading Mahāyāna scriptures at Great Temple of Queli (雀梨大寺) later on, a voice from the sky suddenly said: “You are an intelligent person. Why are you reading these?” He replied: “You must be a little Māra. Go away! My mind is unshakable like the Earth.” Kumārajīva stayed there and continued to read Mahāyāna scriptures and *śāstras* extensively, all of which he mastered. The legend about his being hindered by Māra, while reading the Mahāyāna scriptures, indicates that his commitment to Mahāyāna thought was criticised by his fellow monks in Sarvāstivāda-dominant Kucha.

#### (11.4) The Adoption of Mahāyāna Buddhism by the Sarvāstivādins and Abhayagirivāsins

As the Sarvāstivādin monks, Vasubandhu and Kumārajīva had converted from the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma standpoint to Mahāyāna thought, even though being criticised by

<sup>121</sup> Cf. e.g. T. 51, no. 2049, *Posupandou fashi zhuan* 婆蘇槃豆法師傳 [The Bibliography of Vasubandhu], 188c = Li / Dalia 2002: 40.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Uchimoto 2012. It should be noted that, if any Sarvāstivādin desired to become a *buddha*, his wish would be fulfilled only by meeting the future Buddha, Maitreya, and receiving a prediction of becoming a *buddha* from him. Thus, the notion of becoming a future *buddha* in this school did not contradict its tenets, which differed from those of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mahāyāna Buddhism.

their colleagues, there must have been more and more Sarvāstivādins, probably from the fourth century onwards, who gradually adopted the latter way of thinking, while remaining monks of the Sarvāstivāda school. Thus, at the time of Yijing 義淨 (635~713 C.E.), who was a Mūlasarvāstivādin monk and stayed in India from 673 to 687 C.E., there were Mahāyāna Buddhists in all the Buddhist schools. He wrote: “In the four *nikāyas*, or principal schools<sup>123</sup>, there are no clear distinctions between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. In Northern India and on the islands of the Southern Sea, there is only Hīnayāna. In China, (monks) are inclined to Mahāyāna. In other regions, both practise side by side. If we look at the reality of the situation, there is no difference concerning their disciplines — the five chapters (of Vinaya rules) are commonly enacted and the Four (Noble) Truths are also commonly practised. Those, who worship *bodhisatvas* and read Mahāyāna scriptures are called Mahāyanists, while those, who do not perform these are called Hīnayanists.<sup>124</sup>”

In this connection, it should be noted that the “Gilgit manuscripts”, discovered in 1931, in the village of Naupur, several miles west of Gilgit, are assumed to have been a part of a library, belonging to a small community of monks of the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century. The collection contains a variety of Mahāyāna scriptures as well as various Vinaya and Avadāna texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, though the scripts of these two groups differ from one another.<sup>125</sup> This fact indicates that the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin monks there also collected Mahāyāna scriptures and probably read them.

Moreover, we find the following expression in an inscription from Eastern India, dating back to the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century: *deyadhammo yaṃ pravara-mahājāna-jāyinaḥ Śākya-bhikṣor āryamūlasarvāstivādaparśadā-Vaṅga-viṣayika-sthavira-Dharmamittrasya* (“This is the pious gift of Dharmamitra, a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna, an elderly Buddhist monk from the Vaṅga region, belonging to the assembly of the Mūlasarvāstivādins”)<sup>126</sup>.

There was also a group of Theravādins, who adopted Mahāyāna Buddhism. In Xuanzang’s *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 (646 C.E.), the expression *dasheng shangzuobu* 大乘上座部 (\*Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda) occurs five times in the descriptions concerning Magadha, Kāliṅga, Siṃhala, Bhārukaccha, and Surāṣṭra.<sup>127</sup> *Datang Xiyuji* says: “In Sri Lanka, there are several hundred monasteries with twenty thousand monks, following the Dharma of the Mahāyāna-Sthaviravādins. 200 years after the introduction of Buddhism there, two schools were formed. One is the Mahāvihāravāsin school, which rejects Mahāyāna, practising only Hīnayāna. The other one is the Abhayagirivāsin school, which studies both teachings

<sup>123</sup> According to Yijing, in India there were only four principal schools (*nikāya*), namely the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-nikāya, Ārya-Sthavira-nikāya, Ārya-Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya and Ārya-Saṃmitīya-nikāya. They were subdivided into 7, 3, 4 and 4 schools, respectively. Thus, 18 schools existed in all. Cf. NHJ 205a25~b4, NHJ(tr) 7f.

<sup>124</sup> NHJ 205c9~14; cf. NHJ(tr) 14f. Cf. also what Faxian wrote concerning the situation in Mathurā: “The masters of the *Abhidharma* make their offerings to it; those of the *Vinaya* make theirs to it. Once a year, they make offerings and each group has its own day for it. Followers of Mahāyāna present offerings to the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Mañjuśrī and Avalokitasvara (觀世音).” (T. 51, no. 2085, 859b25~28).

<sup>125</sup> Cf. von Hinüber 2014.

<sup>126</sup> Mitra 1998: 285.

<sup>127</sup> T. 51, no. 2087, 918b14, 929a4, 934a15, 935c2, 936c16, respectively.

and proclaims the *Tripiṭakas*.<sup>128</sup> The Mahābodhi monastery of the \*Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda school in Magadha was built by a king of Sri Lanka. Kalinga and Bhārukaccha, both of which had more than ten monasteries of this school, were not only geographically, but also culturally related closely to Sri Lanka. Surāṣṭra, located in Western India, which flourished due to overseas commerce, had more than fifty monasteries of this school with over three thousand monks and it is not impossible that the Buddhism there was influenced by the Sri Lankan school. Therefore, Sasaki and Ji Xianlin assume that the expression \*Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda designated the Abhayagirivāsins, a sub-school of Theravāda in Sri Lanka, which adopted Mahāyāna Buddhism during the reign of King Vohārikatissa (214~236 C.E.) but was denounced because of this by the orthodox Mahāvihāravāsins. I agree with this assumption.<sup>129</sup>

Thus, Mahāyāna Buddhism, which originated from the Mahāsāṃghikas, was later adopted by other schools as well.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, I assume that members of the Mahāsāṃghikas composed new scriptures, often consisting of questions and answers, thus condemning the conservative thoughts on Buddhist doctrines and called these newly-composed texts *vedulla* / *vaitulya*, meaning that they were “irregular” as Buddha’s scriptures but “incomparable, peerless”. Later, they came to be called, in a more positive way, *vaipulya* “full development, abundance, plenty, fullness”. Much later still, they came to be called *mahāyāna-sūtra* as well. Those who composed, recited, copied, read or proclaimed these “new scriptures”, did not call themselves “mahāyanists” in the beginning, as after all, they were members of the Mahāsāṃghikas. Therefore, it is quite natural that the name *mahāyāna* does not occur in early Indian inscriptions. However, that does not mean at all that Mahāyāna Buddhism was a “minority movement”, as Schopen maintains<sup>130</sup>. Its followers produced a great number of new scriptures, as we can see from the early Chinese translations and recent discoveries of Gāndhārī manuscripts. As time went by, and these Mahāyāna scriptures and doctrines became much more popular, members of other schools began to acknowledge and absorb them as well. Thus, Mahāyāna-cum-Sarvāstivāda and Mahāyāna-cum-Sthaviravāda came into existence. I assume, further, that the original background of the Madhyamaka school, founded by Nāgārjuna, might have been the Mahāsāṃghikas, while that of the Yogācāra school, founded by Vasubandhu and Asaṅga may have been the Sarvāstivādins.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>128</sup> T. 51, no. 2087, 934a14~18. Eight granite tablets, dating back to the ninth century, on which a Mahāyāna text, the *Sarvathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-hṛdaya* is engraved, have been discovered in the ancient Abhayagiri monastery. They show testimony to the fact that Mahāyāna Buddhism was present in ninth-century Sri Lanka. Cf. Schopen 1982 = 2005: 306~313.

<sup>129</sup> Sasaki 1964, 1985: 132~134, Ji 1981 = 1998: 52~73. Cf. also Bechert 1973: 13f.

<sup>130</sup> Schopen 2005: 268. Cf. Skilling 2013: 98~106.

<sup>131</sup> It is interesting that Yijing wrote about the real situation of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India as follows: “There are but two kinds of so-called Mahāyāna. First, the Mādhyamika; second, the Yoga. The former professes that what is commonly called existence is, *in reality*, non-existence, and every object is but an empty show, like an illusion, whereas the latter affirms that there exist no outer things *in reality*, but only inward thoughts, and all things exist only in the mind.” (cf. NHJ[tr] 15); NHJ. 205c14~16. 所云大乘無過二種。一則中觀，二乃瑜伽。中觀則俗有真空，體虛如幻。瑜伽則外無內有，事皆唯識。 Later, the two traditions were fused

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together, and hence, the Yogācāra-Svatantrika-Mādhyamika school was founded by Śāntarakṣita (725~788). In China, the Madhyamaka school was called 空宗 ("School of Emptiness"), while the Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra = Vijñānavāda schools were named 有宗 ("School of Existence"). The latter designation for the Yogācāra = Vijñānavāda school shows its origin clearly.

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v(s) = verse(s)

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YŚV(tr.F) = *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvr̥tti: Commentaire à la soixantaine sur le raisonnement, ou, Du vrai enseignement de la causalité par le Maître indien Candrakīrti*, Cristina Anna Scherrer-Schaub, Bruxelles 1991: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 25).

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ZQ = Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222~252 C.E.)

~ = stem of a word, e.g. *dharma~*

° = except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one, e.g. *ratnāmayā* (v.l. °*ān*).

\* = a hypothetical form which is not attested anywhere, e.g. \**snāru*

$\alpha < \beta$  = the form  $\alpha$  comes from  $\beta$ ; e.g. Gā. *masu* < Skt. *madhu*

- = absence of the parallel(s)

$\doteq$  =  $\alpha \doteq \beta$ :  $\beta$  is almost the same as  $\alpha$

{ } = superfluous Chinese character (or *akṣara*)

< > = omitted Chinese character(s) (or *akṣara*[s])

On *buddha* / Buddha: In this article, “*buddha*” applies to any unspecified one, while “Buddha” is conferred on an particular individual (e.g. the Buddha Śākyamuni)